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THE

TRUE HISTORY

OF THE LATE

DIVISION IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES;

BEING PART OF THE

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY.

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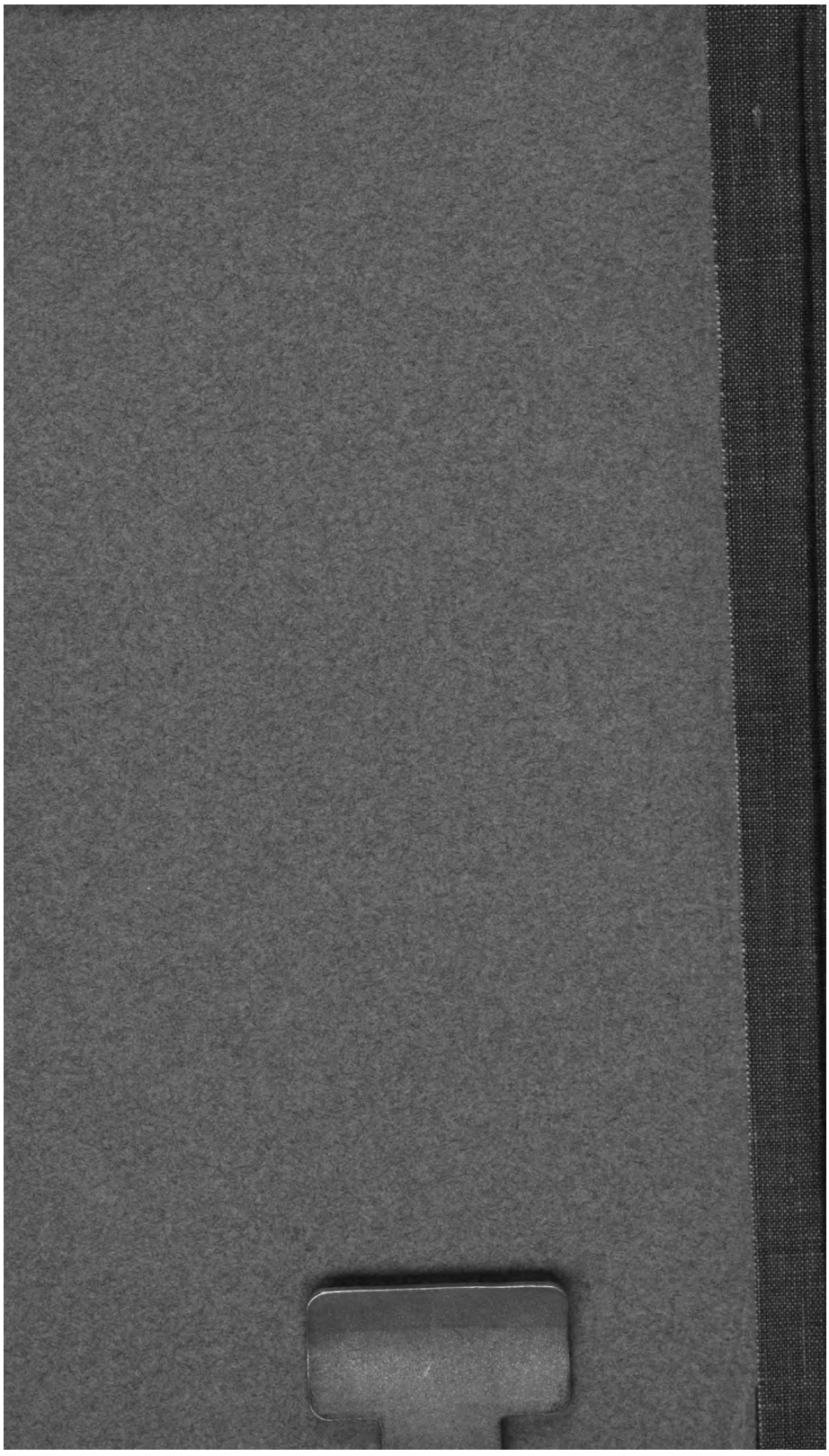

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Massachusetts abolition society

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HISTORY OF THE DIVISION

IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

The Committee have long felt that a full and accurate history should be given to the public, of the origin and progress of the unhappy division among the friends of the slave in this country, and of the causes that led to it. The developments of the past year have increased their conviction of its importance, and encouraged them to believe, that the abolition mind in this country and abroad is prepared to receive and credit *all* the facts in the case—those especially, which, as they implicate personal character, have hitherto, from personal friendship and a regard to the cause, been withheld from the public generally, but which, though not the *grounds* of the secession, are yet important, as throwing light upon and giving meaning to those that were the grounds of it. The committee feel that such a history of the case is due to themselves, to those who, having been providentially prominent in making the secession, have been the special objects of assault and abuse by those from whom we have separated, to the friends of the slave generally, and to posterity. Such a history is the more important, also, from the many partial and erroneous representations of the facts which have been given to the public by our former associates and friends. Such a history, the committee directed their secretary, some months since, to prepare. Various causes prevented his doing it then, and entering soon after on another field of labor, he has been unable to do it since. As the best substitute which the circumstances now allow, he has grouped together a few of the facts of the kind referred to. To these the committee invite your special attention, and with the exposition of the case which these furnish, the committee hope to be able to close this unwelcome, yet, as they believe, necessary controversy.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, in their last Annual Report, say :—

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"The position assumed by that (the Abolition) Society is one of unmitigated hostility to ours. By its MANAGERS, its OFFICIAL ORGAN and AGENTS, it has left untried no device to prejudice the public mind, and especially the religious portion of the community, against the State Anti-Slavery Society, and ourselves as its official representatives. All this has been done with such a *wanton disregard of truth*, such a wide departure from the ground of anti-slavery union and fellowship, such *palpable intent* to gratify *personal and sectarian feelings*, that it is in the highest degree painful to contemplate such a development of moral character."

These are grave charges. They are made *officially*, by the State society and its official representatives. They have been repeatedly made before, by those whose influence controls and gives tone to that society. They aver that the secession had its origin in feelings of *personal and sectarian hostility*. Nothing can be more untrue. It is not known that any of those, who have been prominent in the secession, have *ever* had the least personal difference with the individual, (Mr. Garrison,) out of hostility to whom it has been so often alleged the secession arose. It is believed that to this hour they are *all* on terms of perfect personal friendship and good will to that individual, and that when they meet him, as they occasionally do, they meet as friends, with no personal animosities whatever toward each other. At all events, this is true of the secretary of this society, whose alleged personal hostility has been the subject of frequent and extensive remark. Such personal hostility has never existed. Equally unfounded is the charge of sectarianism, as the sequel will show. The charge that the "managers, official organ and agents" of this society, have conducted the controversy with "a wanton disregard of truth," is a polite way of saying that we are all liars. This committee will not retort the charge. Yet, when such a charge is gravely and officially preferred, when it has received the sanction, not only of the general meeting, but of the cooler and deliberate reflections of such men as Edmund Quincy, Francis Jackson and Ellis Gray Loring, and, with such sanction, has been put on record to go down to posterity, it is surely time to make known *all* the facts, whatever may be the results to personal character in return.

CAUSES OF THE DIVISION.

At the formation of this society, its Executive Committee were "instructed to prepare and issue at an early day an address to the public, setting forth our objects and reasons

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for separate action." In that address, the "causes of division" were declared to be the introduction into our cause of what is technically called the "Woman's Rights question," the departure of the old society from the "original doctrines and measures" of the anti-slavery associations on "the subject of political action," and a serious "defect in regard to the composition of its business meetings." The defect in question practically destroyed the representative character of the society, and, as experience proved, enabled Lynn and Boston to legislate for the State. It was by taking advantage of this, that the action of the society, on the two topics named, was controlled, and the society carried over from the ground of simple and original Abolition, to that of a Woman's Rights and Non-government one. Lynn and Boston sent their scores of delegates, so called, to the meetings of the society, while towns more remote, with an equal proportionate amount of abolitionists, could send but two or three. Such was the fact at the meeting at which the revolution in question was effected. Lynn had a delegation of 120 present. Boston had a greater number. Of those from Boston, *eighty* were appointed by a meeting of *seven* members of a new city society, that had been formed with special reference to the then approaching meeting of the State society. This was in fact the appointment of nearly the whole membership of the society, as delegates. And what is worse, not less than twenty or thirty of these were induced to join the city society, merely that they might be appointed as delegates to vote at the State meeting. And so prominent an individual as the Treasurer of the State society, was a prominent actor in this shameful proceding! Yet each of the so called delegates, from Boston and Lynn, claimed and exercised an equal voice with those from remote parts of the State, in deciding the action of the State society. Nor was there any thing, in the constitution of the society, to forbid it. To remedy this defect, to bring the cause back to its original ground, that so it might be presented to the public on its merits, unincumbered by the extraneous and sectarian questions with which, in the action of the old society, it had been identified, were the avowed reasons for the formation of the new society—these, connected with the hopelessness of effecting any reform in the old society, were the avowed "causes of the division." They were its ***true and real causes.***

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THE REAL "PLOT."

In presenting them to the public as such, the committee have hitherto rested their defence of the case upon these simple facts. From a regard to former friendships and the general cause, they have been anxious, as far as possible, to spare the personal character of leading individuals from whom we have separated. It was enough, that in the action of the old society, the anti-slavery cause was, as a *matter of fact*, turned aside from its original character, and identified with other matters, and that the determination to turn it aside thus, from whatever motives, was, *as a fact*, deliberate and settled. These two facts the committee have ever regarded as ample justification of the separation. On their presentation *as facts*, have they hitherto rested their defence in the case. They believe, however, that the time has now come, and that the circumstances of the case are now such, as to require them to go behind these facts, and give the public some of the evidences, which have for some time satisfied them of the existence of a *deliberate and well-matured design*, on the part of those who have controlled the action of the former society, *to make the anti-slavery organizations subservient to the promotion of their personal and sectarian views on the subjects of Women's Rights, so called, Civil Government, the Church, the Ministry and the Sabbath.*

THE DESIGN DISCREDITED AND DISCLAIMED.

It was a long time before those who have been active in the separation could believe in the existence of any such design on the part of individuals with whom they had been so intimately associated, and to whom they had been accustomed to look as counsellors and leaders in their efforts for the enslaved. When such a design, indeed, was charged on them, particularly upon Mr. Garrison, as it sometimes was, it was indignantly disclaimed.* Such was the fact at the time of Mr. Garrison's first assault upon the Sabbath, and at the subsequent period of the Clerical Appeal. In the conclusion of the Sabbath discussion in 1836, Mr. Garrison said :—

* In Mr. Garrison's phrenological development, as given by Mr. Fowler and published in the Liberator, is the following:—

"He generally keeps his plans and feelings to himself, and carries his plans into execution without divulging them. * * He has more forethought than he manifests. He has great literary ingenuity, and is full of new schemes and projects. He shows a great deal of tact as a writer and reasoner. He seldom or never commits himself."

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"Once for all, we beg our readers to be assured that we have not for one moment cherished the purpose either of being diverted from the special advocacy of the *one great cause* which we have so long espoused, or of making the Liberator the arena of a controversy *which does not belong to its character or its object.* Our Sabbatical animadversions upon Dr. Beecher's speech were purely *incidental*, and *quite subordinate to the main design* of our review. * * We take our leave of the Sabbatical controversy, so far as the columns of the Liberator are concerned, merely remarking again that we shall not suffer ourself or our paper to be diverted from the steadfast and zealous advocacy of the anti-slavery cause. * * As the Liberator is patronized by persons of almost every religious persuasion, and chiefly because it is an anti-slavery paper, it is obvious that it does not properly come within our province to attack the peculiar tenets or ecclesiastical arrangements of any sect. We shall studiously aim not to do so."

And subsequently, in Jan., 1837, when it was proposed to have the State society assume the pecuniary support of the paper, Mr. Garrison referred to the same discussion in a similar manner, and added :—

"The leading, all-absorbing object of the Liberator shall continue to be, as it has been hitherto, the overthrow of American slavery—*not to conflict with any religious sect or political party.*"

DEFENCE OF MR. GARRISON AND OTHERS.

In the full belief of the sincerity of these disclaimers, we were ready to defend him and others of kindred views, as members of the anti-slavery society. Our plea was, that the anti-slavery society, as such, had nothing to do with, and was not to be held responsible for the private opinions of its members on any subjects other than that of the abolition of slavery. And, giving Mr. Garrison the full benefit of this plea, the secretary of the society, then editor of the Emancipator, (Aug. 18, 1836,) said :

"We trust that we love the Sabbath, and dissent from Mr Garrison's views on the subject as much as any one—but what then? Nay, what if he were throughout a thorough Quaker? Must I therefore abjure his sentiments on the subject of *abolition*, or temperance, or any other similar question, and refuse to co-operate with and sustain him in their promulgation? Nonsense."

And in so saying the editor did but express his own and this committee's present as well as former views in the case. With the private religious or other opinions of its members, the anti-slavery society, as such, and we as members of it, have nothing to do. It is only when these opinions are thrust upon the anti-slavery platform, as part and parcel of abolition, and the attempt is made to model the action of the

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anti-slavery societies in accordance with them, that we have any right to complain, and the community a right to hold us responsible for them. Nor was it until this was actually done, and conclusive evidence was furnished that it would be persisted in, that remonstrance and resistance, finally issuing in separation, began.

VIEWS AND FEELINGS OF MR. GARRISON AT THIS PERIOD.

The Clerical Appeal controversy commenced in August, 1837. In the progress of that discussion it became manifest that Mr. Garrison's heart was set upon other reforms more generic in their character, and, in his view, more important, than the anti-slavery reform. He used frequently to remark that nothing thorough and effectual could be effected for temperance or abolition, until we had had some more radical and generic reform. *At this period he gave up all hope of the abolition of slavery by moral and peaceful means.* In the New England Convention, June 2, 1837, he said "he was led to fear that all efforts to avert the pending calamity" of the annexation of Texas to the Union "would prove abortive, and that our national destruction was sealed." (Lib., vol. 7., p. 110.

On the 4th of July of the same year, in a public address at Providence, (Lib., vol. 7, p. 123,) he said he "stood forth in the spirit of prophecy, to proclaim in the ears of the people that our doom *as a nation* is sealed; that the day of our probation is ended, and we are not saved. * * Nor form of government, nor representative body, nor written parchment, nor social compact, nor physical preparation, can give us perpetuity, or hide us from the wrath of the Lamb. *The downfall of the republic seems inevitable.* * * If history be not wholly fabulous—if revelation be not a forgery—if God be not faithless in the execution of his threatenings—the doom is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure. The overthrow of the American confederacy is in the womb of events. * * The corruptions of the CHURCH, so called, are obviously more deep and incurable than those of the STATE; and, therefore, the CHURCH, in spite of every precaution and safeguard, is first to be dashed to pieces. 'Coming events cast their shadows before.' * * *The political dismemberment of our Union is ultimately to follow.*"

On the 11th of August following, in reply to an invitation to attend a Peace Convention in Vermont, Mr. Garrison

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(Lib., vol. 7, p. 146) wrote the Rev. O. S. Murray as follows. "In giving my attention to the degradation and misery of two millions of American bondmen, I do not forget mankind. *My mind is busy* in the investigation of many subjects, which, in their full elucidation and practical bearings, are destined to shake the nations. The subject of peace" (by which he meant "non-resistance," so called) "is among them, and peculiarly dear to me. * * *I hope to be more deeply engaged in it by and by* than I am at present, and unless they alter their present course, the first thing I shall do will be to serve our peace societies as I have done the colonization societies."

On the 2d of October Mr. Garrison was at Worcester, in attendance upon the Massachusetts Young Men's A. S. Convention. At noon, at the house of Mr. Earl, Messrs. Stanton, Green, and others being present, the conversation turned upon the merits of Thompsonianism. Mr. Garrison avowed himself a believer in the theory, and added, with much emphasisis, "law, medicine, and divinity are the three great impostures of the day." On the 13th of the same month (Lib., vol. 7, p. 166, 167) he published a letter dated, "Newark, N. J., March 22d, 1837," and which had therefore been on hand some *six months* before its publication was ventured upon! In the letter the writer said,—"The present governments stand in the way of God's kingdom, just as Colonization once stood in the way of Abolition. They occupy the ground without effecting the object. * * By the foregoing considerations, I am authorized not only to hope for the overthrow of the nations, but to stand in readiness actively to assist in the execution of God's purposes. And I am not forbidden to do so by any *past order*" (referring to the Bible) "to be subject to earthly governments." * * "*My hope of the Millennium begins where Dr. Beecher's expires, viz.*, AT THE OVERTHROW OF THIS NATION." The writer then declares, "God, by his spirit, has moved me to nominate Jesus Christ for the Presidency, not only of the United States, but of the world." He also says, referring to a former interview with Mr. Garrison, "You said your mind was heaving on certain momentous subjects, and you only waited to put anti-slavery into the sunshine, before you turned your mind toward those subjects." Mr. Garrison, in an accompanying editorial, called this, "The solemn and powerful letter from Newark," and said, "it is in accordance with our views and feelings."

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These extracts make obvious what was well known to the intimate and careful observers of Mr. Garrison, at this period, but what was not generally noticed or duly weighed by abolitionists as a body. It was at this period, that James Boyle of Ohio, in his famous letter, endorsed by Mr. Garrison, said, "I have observed of late, that you have become satisfied that moral influence will never abolish slavery in this country." Mr. Garrison *had given up all hope for the slave from such means*;* his mind was laboring and his heart intent on those other great reforms, with the idea of which he had become intoxicated, and compared with which, he more than once remarked, that the anti-slavery reform was but as a drop to the ocean.

PRIVATE REMONSTRANCE.

In this state of things, Mr. Garrison was pressed, by private and fraternal remonstrances, either to waive the pressure of his views in connection with the anti-slavery cause, or to come out at once boldly, and fling the banner of universal reform to the breeze. The evidence of such remonstrance is is on record. On the 19th of January, 1838, (Lib. vol. 8, p.

* And yet, when in October, 1839, it became necessary to issue a "Liberator extra," for the purpose of warning "the anti-slavery electors of Massachusetts," against lending any countenance to the "Indepent Anti-slavery nomination," then this same Mr. Garrison was foremost and loudest in the outcry for "moral action," in distinction from political, as the sure and only hope for the slave. In the "address" of the board of managers of the old society, issued at that time, and to which his name is attached, Mr. Garrison, in common with the others, says:

"It (the formation of an abolition political party,) would be virtually denying the power of *moral suasion* and *eternal truth* to overcome corruption and prejudice. * * It is to be feared that some who bear the name of abolitionists, are beginning to lose their faith in truth, and the God of truth, *to despair of obtaining victory by the use of spiritual weapons*, (!) and hence their anxiety to go down into Egypt for horsemen and chariots. * * It will take but a very short time, comparatively, for the 'little leaven' of anti-slavery to leaven the whole lump of politics, provided abolitionists hold fast their integrity, and have faith as a grain of mustard seed. Both political parties *will yet be compelled to do homage to the* MORAL MAJESTY *of our enterprise*, and be emulous to do it service, because of the great *moral change that* WILL BE *wrought in public sentiment*. Friends of the sighing bondman! let us never give them occasion to think, for a moment, that we have no abiding faith in the promulgation of truth,—*anti-slavery truth*,—to overcome their opposition. Let us ever speak in the language of *victory*, and regard their *absolute subjection* as a SETTLED EVENT."

And this was the man, who, two years before, had proclaimed it to the world, "as a settled event" that moral influence would never abolish slavery in this country?

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9,) Mr. Phelps in reply to a communication of Prof. Smyth of Maine, after making sundry admissions, said :—

"And does Prof. Smyth exclaim now, that against these things Bro. Phelps has never felt it his duty to remonstrate? A little pains to get light would have told him a different story. It would have told him, not indeed that I had carried my griefs to the bar of the public in the form of 'Appeals,' and 'Protests,' and 'Voices,' in the belief that 'private remonstrances would be entirely unheeded,' but that I had sought my end in a more fraternal way. It would have put him in possession of the following, among other facts, * * that when the connection of the Liberator and the society first came up for consideration, Bro. P. expressed his firm conviction, that it was, in itself, an improper one, and ought to cease with the end of the year; that on the other topics there has been private and personal remonstrance, and that at times, on some of these points, 'Bro. P.'s' feelings have been very strong, and his remonstrances very earnest."

The editor of the Liberator accompanied the article containing these statements with editorial remarks commending it to the attention of his readers; but did not intimate that such remonstrances had not been made. Indeed so great was the dissatisfaction of Mr. Phelps with his course, toward the close of the Clerical Appeal controversy, that, on one occasion, after conversing on the subject at some length, he assured Mr. Garrison, in distinct terms, that he could not and would not sanction the course he was then pursuing, and that if he persisted in it, he must and should come out against him. At the same time, Oct., 1837, he also wrote to some of Mr. Garrison's most intimate personal friends, stating what his feelings were, and urging them to use their influence to induce him to modify his course. Among others, he wrote to Dr. Farnsworth of Groton, then and now a firm adherent of Mr. Garrison. In his reply, dated "Groton, October 27, 1837," Dr. Farnsworth said :

"Garrison will have a large party, and it cannot be otherwise, but there will be strife between the two divisions. Besides, would not his power for doing mischief by the circulation of his sentiments on other matters, be greater than it will be if we keep with him, and surround him with our influence, which must restrain him to a very great degree? * * * I know your regard for the anti-slavery cause, and have full confidence in your judgment and discretion to navigate safely in this dangerous sea. And allow me to believe, that the obstinacy of Garrison will not stimulate you to any sudden act which the circumstances of the times do not imperiously demand."

John G. Whittier, in a letter to Mr. Phelps, dated "Amesbury, 22d 10th mo., (Oct.) 1837," said :

"As to the Liberator, I have just forwarded to Garrison a letter in reference to the Newark Perfectionist's letter. I sent a resolution and

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a letter to the Essex County A. S. Society, (being unable to attend,) disapproving of the course of the Liberator in this matter, but it was voted down. I am anxious to do all that I can to preserve peace."

Other individuals, ignorant at the time of Mr. Phelps' feelings, wrote him of their own accord, giving an expression of their feelings, and urging him to use his influence with Mr. Garrison, and announcing the fact that they also had sent their private remonstrances to Mr. Garrison. Among others, "Father Ward," so called, wrote Mr. Phelps a long letter on the subject, and as he was in doubt whether Mr. Ward intended that he should show the letter to Mr. Garrison, he wrote Mr. Ward for information. In reply, Mr. Ward, "Oct. 26," said:

"As you express a doubt as to my object in writing you, I would observe, it was not that you should 'show the letter to Mr. G.' *As I had previously written to him*, he knew my views as to his course."

On the same week, N. Crosby, Esq., now General Agent of the Mass. Temp. Union, and then resident in Newburyport, wrote as follows:

"I sent, by yesterday's mail, a long letter to Mr. Garrison, which I wish you to read, and you will see what considerations I have urged upon him. I have suffered amazingly from the appeal, answers, attack on Sabbath, clergy, &c., &c., and that so much of the Liberator has been taken up in resolutions, letters, &c., &c., to the almost entire neglect of the poor slave."

Elizur Wright, Jr., writing on another topic to Mr. Phelps, on the 26th of the same month, and referring to the correspondence below, said:

"I have just received a letter from Garrison, which confirms my fears that he has finished his course *for the slave.* At any rate *his* plan of rescuing the slave by the destruction of human laws, is fatally conflictive with ours. Only one of them can lead to any good result. Still, if he would run up his *perfection flag*, so that abolitionists might see what they are driving at, shouting for him, he would not do us much hurt. I have *conjured him to do so. Honesty requires it of him.*"

The remainder of the story in regard to this correspondence with Mr. G., is thus told by Mr. Wright, in a "Chapter on Plots," in the Abolitionist, Dec. 5, 1839; nor has Mr. Garrison ever dared to deny one of the facts here stated.

Now that our hand is in for this chapter, we *will* plead guilty to certain anterior plots. We will go back to the beginning—the *fons malorum*, of all our plots. In the summer of 1837 we were vehemently urged by Mr. Garrison and Mrs. Chapman, to come out in condemnation of a certain not very powerful document, since known as the "Clerical Appeal." We replied, for substance, that we considered that document a personal affair, with which the Emancipator was not called upon

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to meddle, especially after the Liberator had so fully disposed of it; but that if we *did* take notice of it, we should feel bound impartially to make a clean breast, and rebuke the Liberator and Mr. Garrison for faults *not* charged in that "Appeal." What these faults were, we at once *plotted* to make known to Mr. Garrison, by a correspondence which was kept religiously private on our part. On the first part of this correspondence, we cannot, at this moment, lay our hands, but the following extract of a letter from Mr. Garrison, dated Oct. 23d, 1837, will show of what sort it was.

"My Dear Brother,—I am indebted to you for two long letters, to which, perhaps, I shall reply at equal length, at some leisure hour. The first—though written, I am sure, with the most friendly feelings—excited my surprise far more than the Clerical Appeal; and you will pardon me for saying, was as illogical in its reasoning as it was cruel in its impeachment of my motives. Elizur Wright, Jr., never wrote that letter —some other spirit than your own freeborn, generous, independent spirit, prevailed with you for the time being, and made you indite that strange composition," &c.

Though we were not sensible of making any cruel impeachment of motives in that letter, its language certainly was stronger than we would use *about* any friend, *behind his back*. We did not then consider it inevitable that Mr. Garrison's faults should be discussed by us before the public, but continued to hope that by "plotting" with him, like a brother, he might be prevented from saddling his own vagaries upon the anti-slavery cause. What was the precise position we took with him, will appear from a subsequent letter of our own, dated Nov. 4th, 1837, in which we read,—

"Perhaps your 'surprise' at my first letter would be less, if you were to reflect that, not believing in the doctrine of 'perfect holiness,' I am not unprepared to see faults in my very best friends, and can reprove them without hating or despising them. Whether such reproof betoken on my part a lack of freedom, generosity, and independence of spirit, I leave to the verdict of your own good sense. Sure I am that there is little enough good in me, but my letter to you was dictated by my conscience, if any letter of mine ever was. My sentiments in regard to your freedom of speech, you know from a letter more recent than those to which you replied. When the Anti-Slavery Society fairly stands before the world clear of all responsibility for the Liberator, I shall not charge it upon you as a sin against the abolition cause that you advocate in its columns your own religious views. You say, 'truth is *one*, and not conflictive or multitudinous,' True, but the *people* are conflictive. Abolitionists do not agree on many points not involved in their Declaration of Sentiments. Hence it is no more than right that the paper which is understood to speak the common language of all, should confine itself to the subject on which all agree, or rather on which they do not seriously differ. If any brother has discovered what he deems to be important truth, heaven forbid that abolitionists should *hinder* him from the full developement of it, *on his own responsibility.*

"But it does appear to me that *your* 'truth'—that human government has no rightful authority, does conflict with the *truths* of our Declaration of Sentiments, and especially with our measures. In our Declaration we maintain "that the slave ought instantly to be set free and brought under *the protection of law;*" and that "Congress has the

right, and is solemnly bound to suppress the domestic slave trade." Now here is downright *untruth*, if human government has no right to exist. And as to our measures, the discrepancy is still more glaring. *We* labor to bring the slave under the protection of government, *you* to destroy the government that is to protect him. I suppose you will say that you would only supersede human authority by the establishment of the divine. Still our action militates against yours, for ours tends more thoroughly to establish the human government—the latter being never so firm as when the weakest are enjoying its full protection. Still, conflictive as are your truths with ours, theoretically, I have little apprehension that we should receive any injury from them practically, if they made their home in their own tub—and that stood on its own bottom. What I should then most fear, would be that they would suck *you* into a vortex of spiritual Quixotism, and thus absorb energies that might have shaken down the mountain of oppression."

Had we written such letters to any mortal on earth *about* Mr. Garrison, would not excerpts—all the blood and "murder" of them—have certainly come "out" in Mrs. Chapman's last book? But, some how or other, they have totally sunk out of her grand *complotation*, and her pages make up a face of the most wide-orbed surprise at the positions which H. B. Stanton and ourself have taken in 1839—as at *laymen* carried away by a sudden clerical plot and side wind. Just as if Mr. Garrison and Mrs. Chapman did not perfectly know, more than two years ago, that other names besides the honored one of H. B. Stanton, names far more prominently and worthily identified with the abolition cause than our own, had plotted this same new organization plot to their private ears—that is, had pressed upon them the doctrine which has at length made it proper and necessary for the new organization to exist! But they understand the power of *plot*.

Rev. C. W. Denison, then in Maryland, and one of Mr. G.'s earliest friends, remonstrated in a similar way about the same time. Other individuals did the same. But amid all the clamor in the Liberator, in Mrs. Chapman's books, and elsewhere, about "plots," and "treasons," and "detected letters," not a hint of these private remonstrances has ever yet been given, nor one solitary line of *these* private letters been printed! This single fact speaks volumes.

THE DESIGN MATURED AND DELIBERATELY ADOPTED.

These remonstrances all coming upon Mr. Garrison about the same time and from different quarters, effected a temporary modification of his course. Nevertheless, his mind was "busy" and "heaving" with the supposed great reforms that in his imagination had already "shaken the nations." The circumstances of the case were peculiar. *He* was panting for the conflict with principalities and powers. His friends were remonstrating. *They* thought his schemes ruin, not reform. At all events, they were quite sure that their advocacy in connection with the cause of the slave would be ruin to

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that; and they urged him, for the slave's sake, to desist, or else to quit the slave and fling out his banner without fear and without disguise. What should be done? It was a serious question, but must be met. There were but three courses that could be taken. One was, to waive their advocacy for the slave's sake. That would have been generous, and would have evidenced a sincerity and fervor of devotion to his cause alike honorable and above suspicion. This was not done. A second course was to lift the banner of universal reform on independent grounds, and separate entirely from the cause of the slave. That would have been manly and honest. That was not done. The only other course was to push on the schemes of universal reform under the banner and in connection with that of freedom to the slave. *This was done.* If done in the sincere and heartfelt belief that thereby the cause of the slave would be most effectually promoted, it was the mistaken policy of sincere yet misguided zeal. If done with the deliberate design of taking advantage of the anti-slavery cause to give currency to views that it was well known could not gain a hearing or stand a moment on their own merits, it was a treachery to the slave, as base as it was cowardly and mean. If done with such design, the natural and obvious course would have been first to consider and decide on this as the policy to be pursued; second, in pursuing it, to seek to shape the anti-slavery cause to the principles of the other reforms; third, in doing this, to urge those modifications first which would be least obnoxious, and least likely to create alarm; and finally, to bring other organizations and instrumentalities into the field to do that portion of the work which could not be effected through the anti-slavery organizations and instrumentalities. And this, the committee are obliged to say, *is just what was actually done.* The policy to be pursued was considered and deliberately decided upon: it was that of "*sifting them in*" upon the anti-slavery reform; and it was chosen because, *avowedly*, the other reforms, standing alone and on their own merits, could not get a hearing or make any general lodgement in the public mind.

It is well known that at the period referred to, when Mr. Garrison's mind was "heaving" with these other great reforms, so called, he had frequent consultations with some of his most intimate friends in respect to the course to be pursued. George W. Benson, his brother-in-law, Maria W. Chapman, the Misses Grimke, and others, were so consulted.

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One plan proposed was to give up the Liberator, or retire from its editorial care and start a new paper. Another plan was to make a formal change of the Liberator itself, and announce the fact that its leading object would no longer be the abolition of slavery, but generic and universal reform, including the abolition of slavery as a part of it. Another plan was to continue to hold out the abolition of slavery as the leading object of the paper, and then to "sift in" the other reforms, as the people could bear them. The latter, as appears from the following correspondence, was adopted.

The Rev. Mr. Cummings, an agent of this society, had been told the facts stated in this correspondence, by some friends in this city. In the prosecution of his labors as an agent, he came in contact with a Mr. Whiting, an agent of the old society, and in the course of the conversation or discussion, repeated the facts to him. He at once denied their truth, said he knew they could not be so, and that he would write Mr. Garrison about it. Weeks passed on, and nothing was heard, either from Mr. Whiting or Mr. Garrison. That there might be no apology for longer silence, if the facts were not as stated, Mr. Cummings addressed a letter of inquiry to Mr. Fuller, through the columns of the Abolitionist, to which Mr. Fuller gave the following reply :—

THE INQUIRY ANSWERED.

MR. H. CUMMINGS :—Dear Sir,—I find in the last Abolitionist, a letter from you, addressed to me, of which the following is an extract :—

"I have been very credibly informed, that some two or more years since, Mr. Garrison called a meeting of his special friends, in the Marlboro' Hotel, Boston, among whom was yourself, and after reading Mr. J. Boyle's letter on non-resistance and perfectionism, distinctly proposed to inculcate and spread those doctrines. The *medium* through which he proposed to propagate them, was the *Liberator* and the *anti-slavery organization*. The *manner* was to sift them in *incidentally*, and press them upon the people as fast as they were prepared to receive them. The *reasons* assigned for such a course were, a new paper and separate organization could not be sustained, for the people were not prepared to receive such doctrines when presented in their fullest light, as they would be in a new paper, but if "*sifted*" into the anti-slavery organization, they would drink them in imperceptibly, and thus would not be so offensive to them. The substance of the above facts I have frequently stated in public and to private individuals; and the general inquiry has been, 'why have not these facts been published?'"

Satisfied that the present state of the anti-slavery cause demands a publication of the facts in the case, I do not feel at liberty to shrink from the responsibility of giving them to the public in answer to your inquiries. They are briefly these. Some two years since, Mr. Garrison received a letter from Mr. James Boyle of Ohio, which was subsequently published in the Liberator under the caption of "A Letter to Wm. Lloyd Garri-

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son, touching the Clerical Appeal, Sectarianism, and True Holiness." The character of the letter may be judged of by the following extracts.

"For your (Mr. Garrison's) independent expression of your sentiments respecting human governments,—a pagan originated Sabbath, (sun's day,) your wise refusal to receive the mark of the beast, either in your forehead or in your right hand, by practically sanctioning the irreligious sects which corrupt and curse the world,—your merited denunciations of these sects, of the sordid, dough-faced, popish leaders, but above all, for your Christ-exalting poetry, 'Christian Rest,' you are in my heart," &c.

"It would seem, from the sympathy manifested by 'Clerical' men, in this country toward the religion and priesthood that were abolished in France, that they would rather have a religion and priesthood from hell, than none at all.

"I have observed of late, that you (Mr. Garrison) have become satisfied that moral influence will never abolish slavery in this country.* Of this I have long been certain. 'The signs of the times' indicate clearly to my mind, that God has given up the sects and parties, political and religious, of this nation, into the hands of a perverse and lying spirit, and left them to fill up the measure of their sins," &c., &c.

In publishing the letter, Mr. Garrison said,—

"It is one of the most powerful epistles ever written by man. We alone are responsible for its publication. It utters momentous truths in solemn and thrilling language, and is a testimony for God and his righteousness, which cannot be overthrown."

Mr. Garrison had the letter on hand some considerable time previous to its publication, and read it repeatedly to individual and particular friends. On one occasion, before its appearance in the Liberator, myself and several others were invited to meet at a room in the Marlboro' Hotel to hear it read. Mr. G. having read it, spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation—saying, in substance, that however unpopular its doctrines, they were true, and would yet be received by the people. That they were not now prepared for them—that if a new publication were started for the purpose of promulgating them, (a measure which he had under consideration some months before, and in respect to which he consulted some of his most confidential friends,) it would not get sufficient circulation to sustain it—that the abolitionists indeed, were the only class of the community that had been so trained to free discussion as to bear their discussion; "and therefore," said he, "as our enemies say," (referring to the charge of Mr. Woodbury some time previous,) we must "sift it in" to the Liberator.

This is the substance of what he said. The impression I received from it at the time was, that it was then his deliberate design to take advantage of the abolition character of his paper to "sift" his peculiar opinions on other subjects, into public favor. As I had never before believed that Mr. Garrison had any such design, and had repelled the charge as a slander upon him, I was, of course, surprised at this avowal of it by himself.

That he made what amounted to such an avowal I am sure from these facts. First, I mentioned it to Mrs. Fuller the same evening. Second, *up* to that time my confidence in Mr. Garrison's integrity was entire and implicit, and *from* that time it began to be shaken. And third, the col-

* This was Mr. Garrison's opinion at that time.

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umns of the Liberator have since been in exact keeping with suc
design.

I make these statements in answer to your inquiries, in no ill will
Mr. Garrison, but solely because I believe that the cause of truth
freedom demand it.

Yours for the bondman, JOHN E. FULLER

Boston, Nov. 25, 1839.

These statements have been before the public, have be
copied into various papers, and been repeated in priv
conversation and public discussion for nearly a year a
a half, and to this hour Mr. Garrison has never said one wo
in explanation or denial of them.

THE DESIGN CARRIED OUT.

The design thus deliberately conceived has been stead
and perseveringly carried out by the two leading minds
the case, (Mr. Garrison and Mrs. Chapman,) through th
subordinate agents and friends. As subordinates, Mess
Johnson, Collins and Whiting, as agents; Messrs. Geor
W. Benson and William Chase, as family connections of M
Garrison; Mr. Phillips, whose wife is a relative, and wh
here an inmate of the senior Chapman family, and M
Quincy, whose recent confession is, that for years he h
played the hypocrite in regard to his religious opinions
these, as subordinates, have been specially prominent a
active.*

To trace the design in question in all the instances a
steps of its development, would swell this report to a volum
The committee can notice but a few of them, as specime
of many others.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

The first illustration of the kind is furnished in the mann
and history of the introduction of the "woman's rights que
tion," so called. As was to have been expected, on the su
position of the design named, this being the least obnoxio
of the proposed modifications of the cause, the least like

* Mr. Quincy's confession (see Lib., March, 1841) is as follows:
"As for myself, I had attained the views I now hold on the churc
ministry, and Sabbath, before I knew of your (Mr. Garrison's) ex
tence, I believe; certainly several years before I had any acquaintan
with you, or knew any thing of your opinions on any subject exce
slavery. My error and sin (which I confess and repent) consisted
giving my countenance to them for a time, from a mistaken idea that t
views I held were dangerous to be known by the common people, wh
needed a little jugglery (!) and legerdemain (!) to keep them in order.

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from the circumstances of the case to create alarm and provoke resistance, or if it did so, the most easily to be effected, was the first to be attempted. The New England Convention of 1838 was chosen as the occasion, and Oliver Johnson, the well known echo of Mr. Garrison's wishes on such occasions, as the agent for introducing the attempt.*— For several years the form of invitation to membership and action in the convention had been "*all gentlemen* present." On this occasion, at an early period of the convention, when Messrs. Phelps, Smith, and some others, who from various causes had been more awake to the progress of things than their brethren generally, and would have been more likely to have detected and resisted the movement on the threshold, were out of the room, preparing business for the convention, Mr. Johnson brought forward a carefully worded resolution, inviting, not "gentlemen" merely, as formerly, but "all persons present, or who may be present at subsequent meetings, *whether men or women*, who agree with us in sentiment on the subject of slavery, to become members and participate in the proceedings of the convention." In the bustle of the moment, and not dreaming that this "was to be the first public act of a mighty reform," the difference in the form of the invitation was not generally noticed, and the resolution was readily adopted. Its adoption was received by the initiated with a burst of applause, as if conscious of having achieved some anticipated and mighty victory. The proceedings of the convention on a subsequent day, opened the eyes of all to the meaning of the vote and the design of its introduction. At once a private meeting of the leading members of the convention, on both sides of the question, was called to see in what way the matter should be adjusted. The woman's rights men were resolved on retaining the ground they had gained, and would not listen a moment to the idea of reconsideration or compromise. Others who regretted the resolution and said they would not have voted for it had they been aware of its import and extent, thought that as the money of the ladies as members had been received and as the convention had proceeded so far on that basis, the resolution could not be reconsidered without undoing all the proceedings of the convention through the two preceding days, and therefore that the better way, on the whole, was to let the matter pass, and look out for the remedy the next year.

*The subject had been studiously "sifted in" to the Liberator, for some time previous.

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Mr. Garrison at first refused to come nigh the meeting. He did at last come in a few moments when the conference was nearly closed, and all but four or five of the persons present had retired; and after sitting a short time, remarked, with a smile of seeming exultation, that he did not see that anything could be done. Thus this fraternal effort at an adjustment of the matter at the threshold was sternly and resolutely repulsed, just as we should expect it to have been on the supposition that the initiated had made up their minds beforehand to push the measure at all hazards. From this point, the measure has been carried by the same persons and with the same pertinacity, first to the Massachusetts State Anti-Slavery Society, then to sister State and local societies, then to the National Society, and finally to the World's Convention, and there contested in such a manner as to show that William Lloyd Garrison and his associates crossed the broad Atlantic, not to further the cause of the slave, but to take advantage of the slave's convention to test and give currency to his and their Quixotic schemes of "women's rights." And all this, when the evidence is indisputable on their own confessions, that *that* public action of women in our state and national societies for which they have so strenuously contended, was never contemplated in the original formation of those societies. The evidence of such confessions is at hand.

On the 11th of March, of 1836, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society wrote, by their Secretary, to the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, stating that that Society was auxiliary to the American, and that, at a recent meeting of its Board of Managers, it had been proposed to inquire of the Executive Committee of the National Society, whether or not they would be expected to send a delegation to its annual meeting, &c. &c. The proposition occasioned some debate, and as they supposed the Boston society was auxiliary to the State or national, they wished to be informed what their "opinion and practice were respecting the sending of delegates to its annual meeting"—a strange inquiry truly, if the sending of such delegations, and the public action consequent upon it, has always been contemplated, and is in keeping with the constitution of that society, as originally adopted in that same city, and in presence, too, of the very women that now urged it! The Boston society was not auxiliary to either of the societies named, and of course had no "*practice*" on the subject. A meeting was accordingly

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held to consider and give an "*opinion*" in the case. A majority of the meeting were opposed to the measure. Mr. Garrison was then boarding at Miss Lucy Parker's, and manifested great anxiety in respect to the result. The following certificates will show what he said when informed of it, and what he then thought of the measure proposed.

"I hereby certify that on our return from the meeting of the Boston Female A. S. Society, at which the opinion of the society was taken in regard to the question submitted to it by the Philadelphia society, Mr. Garrison inquired what we had done, and when informed that a majority were against the measure proposed, he said, '*I am glad of it, for it was never contemplated.*' MARY S. PARKER."

This is the Miss Parker that was, for several years, the President of the Boston society. Her sister says:—

"The impression of the undersigned is that Mr. Garrison said, 'I am glad of it, for it would only make trouble.' LUCY PARKER.
"Boston, Jan. 14, 1840."

Both these testimonies were given Mr. Phelps in writing at the date of the latter. They are both identical in fact, though not in terms; for why would the measure "make trouble," but on the ground that it "was never contemplated?"

On the 8th of March last, Mr. St. Clair writes Mr. Phelps, in respect to Mr. Johnson's confessions, as follows:—

"A short time after the N. E. A. S. Convention of 1838, at which Mr. Johnson presented the woman question, he observed to me that you had said, in a conversation with him"—(this was so)—"if the Massachusetts A. S. Society should take the same course the N. E. Convention had upon the subject, you and many others should leave it. I replied, then it must not be brought forward. He said, it certainly would be. Then, I inquired, why not make the motion in the language of the constitution, inviting all '*persons*' to act, and leaving it to each to give his own construction. Because, he replied, when the constitution was adopted, it was not contemplated that women should act in the public meetings of the society; and unless specially invited they would not. I inquired if he would push that subject if he knew it would divide the society. He replied, Yes; it would drive off only such men as Phelps —the orthodox and the clergy would leave, and they could be very well spared."

These facts need no comment.

THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL ACTION.

A second instance of the development of the same design, is furnished in the attempt to modify the action of the anti-slavery society, in accordance with the views of the reformers on the subject of civil government. The intention

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obviously was to prepare the way for this modification by the same silent and "sifting-in" process, that had done the work in the case just named. Hence the discussion was introduced, little by little, in the Liberator, great care being taken at the same time to reiterate the assurance that anti-slavery is still its leading and distinctive object, (Lib., vol. 8, p. 155,) and that "the discussion of the peace question in its columns, will continue to be, as it has been hitherto, *merely incidental!*" The impression was also studiously made that abolitionists were rapidly going over to the new doctrine, especially the most ultra and thorough of them.

The providence of God, however, hastened the development on this subject sooner than had been anticipated, and before the leaders in the matter were fully prepared for it. Various causes combined, in the summer and fall of 1838, to call the attention of the abolitionists of this State and of the country, to the consideration and discharge of their duty, as citizens, in the use of the elective franchise. The doctrine of the anti-slavery societies always had been that the use of that franchise for the slave was a solemn duty—a matter demanded not on the ground of consistency merely, but of sacred obligation.* So soon, therefore, as the course

* The doctrine of the Declaration of Sentiments, drafted by Mr. Garrison, and put forth by the convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, in Dec. 1833, was as follows:—

"*We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the* HIGHEST OBLIGATIONS *resting on the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral* AND *political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States.*"

"Political action" is here affirmed to be a matter of "*highest obligation.*" It and "moral" action are put on the same footing—that of *duty*, not of *consistency* merely with one's professions. That this sentiment had main and ultimate reference to the use of the elective franchise, is proved beyond a doubt. Some two years since, JOHN G. WHITTIER, then editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman, said,—

"We were a member of that Philadelphia convention—one of the three constituting the sub-committee, which drew up the Declaration of Sentiments. No one at that period objected to political action in its fullest extent. Our friend Garrison told us how the abolitionists in Great Britain were carrying their principles to the ballot box, as an earnest of what we should be able to do ere long in our own country."

Mr. Garrison has never denied this statement. Indeed, in the autumn of 1834, he virtually declared the same thing himself. Abbot Lawrence and Amasa Walker were then put in nomination to represent Boston in Congress. Commenting on a letter of Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Garrison, (Lib., Nov. 8. 1834) said:—

"Very soon the all-absorbing question *at the polls* will be—'Will you vote for the immediate abolition of slavery in that portion of the country

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of events called on abolitionists to give expression to their opinions in resolutions of conventions and societies, this was the doctrine which they every where avowed. Among other events, in consequence of successive defeats, the several contested elections in the fourth Congressional District in this State, came on.

On the 11th of December, 1838, preparatory to the elec-

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over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction?' And upon the answer given to this question *will hinge every Congressional election.*"

He then referred to the "experience of the British people in this matter," and said that their "*petitions* were unheeded, because no effort was made to *send* the right men to put away the evil;" that when "at last the moral influence of the nation was poured through a *political medium*," the work was done; and that he should give his vote, at the election, to Amasa Walker. And subsequently, (Dec. 20, 1834,) in some "Political Suggestions" addressed "to the colored inhabitants of Boston," he added,

"I gave him (Mr. Walker) my vote on the ground of humanity, justice, benevolence and religion; and I think, as you valued your own welfare, he ought to have received your votes. * * We do, indeed, need a Christian party in politics—not made up this or that sect or denomination, but all who fear God and keep his commandments, and who sincerely desire to seek judgment and relieve the oppressed. I know it is the belief of many professedly good men, that they ought not to meddle in politics; *but they are cherishing a delusion, which, if it do not prove fatal to their own souls, may prove the destruction of their country.*"

So much politics called forth some complaints from correspondents. In reply to one of them, Mr. Garrison (Lib., Dec. 27) said:—

"Hitherto, we have said little or nothing in reply to the hypocritical cant and lugubrious outcry which have been uttered by the pro-slavery party, respecting the 'political action' alluded to in the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention; but in our next volume we shall take up this subject, and tell slave traders, slaveholders, colonizationists, and all others, what we mean to do with our elective franchise, towards breaking up the impious system of slavery. *As that Declaration was penned by us, we presume that we are competent to give an exposition of its doctrines.* One thing we will say, in advance of our essays, that the IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION of the slaves in the District of Columbia and the territories, is to be made A TEST AT THE BALLOT BOXES, in the choice of representatives to Congress; and that no man, who is a slaveholder, will receive the votes of conscientious and consistent abolitionists, for any station in the gift of the people—especially for the Presidency of the United States."

This is a plain confession that "the political action alluded to in the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention," and urged as a duty, had special reference to the use of the "elective franchise." Yet when this same doctrine was urged in 1838, it was resisted as an attempt to drive non-governmentists in general, and Mr. Garrison in particular, from the anti-slavery ranks! The "essays" promised never made their appearance.

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tion on the following Monday, the abolitionists of the District held a meeting at Concord. Messrs. H. B. Stanton, A. A. Phelps, A. St. Clair, Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, were there. Among the resolutions adopted on that occasion, and in support of which Wendell Phillips made a most eloquent speech, were the following :—

Resolved, That we will not content ourselves with simply staying away from the polls, and neglecting to vote for the candidates in question, but, Providence permitting, will be at the polls without fail, and vote *for* some one who is true to the slave—deeply sensible that it is quite as important, and AS MUCH OUR DUTY, to be at our post, and vote *for* a good and true man, as it is to *decline* voting for one who is not; and that we earnestly recommend to all abolitionists in the District to do the same.

Resolved, That the more effectually to secure this object, it be recommended to the abolitionists in each town, to appoint a committee of one, two, or three, as the case may require, whose duty it shall be to see that every abolitionist in the town is at the polls, that he may there vote for the slave.†

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† In the National Standard of July 23, 1840, there is an "Address of the (new) Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the Abolitionists of the United States." It is signed by JAMES S. GIBBONS, Chairman, and JAMES C. JACKSON, Secretary. It purports to give a history of the division among the Abolitionists. "We have made this development," say they, "by order of the society, to the end that abolitionists, of this and of coming time, may understand the true causes of the alienation which has been consummated by the act of forming a new organization at New York." The document is, throughout, *one continued tissue of misrepresentation and of misstatement of facts*. As one illustration of this, by no means the worst, we select the following:—

"It is proper to observe that Messrs. Stanton and Phelps had the whole control of that field"—(the 4th District.) *They* put in nomination the Rev. James Woodbury as the abolition candidate, and circulated printed votes in his behalf. This step, we think, was in itself wrong. The abolitionists of the District generally, and the Massachusetts Board in particular, at whose expense these operations were carried on, had a right to be consulted, both whether a separate nomination should be made, and if so who should be the individual selected."

And then, as the *motive* of the nomination, the address adds:—

"Mr. Woodbury had been a distinguished sympathizer with the clerical appellants, was a friend of the national administration, and in this respect harmonized with Mr. Stanton, as he did with both Stanton and Phelps, in his *sectarian attachments*."

Now it so happens, that not a solitary item in the above statement is correctly given. Messrs. Stanton and Phelps did *not* have the whole control of that field; they did *not* put Mr. Woodbury or any one else in nomination as the abolition candidate; no such candidate was put in nomination by any one; nor was any thing important done, in that whole campaign, without careful consultation with the abolitionists of the Dis-

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These are a specimen of the character of the resolutions that were being adopted at that time in all parts of the land. They affirmed voting for the slave to be *a duty*. This, of course, was in flat contradiction of the principles of non-governmentism. Nevertheless, so obvious was it that they were only expressive of the doctrine of original and genuine abolition, that Mr. Phillips eloquently advocated them, and Mr. Garrison said not one word in opposition. This was on the 11th of December, 1838. A *crisis* was at hand. The "sifting in" process would no longer answer. Some bold push must be made, or political abolition, without one word of controversy, would drive non-governmentism from the field. At the annual meeting of the State society, within one short month after, that push was made; it was to drive from the field that *form* of political action, which, recognizing the right of government to exist, affirmed the use of the elective franchise for the slave to be a duty, and to substitute in its place a non-government form, i. e., one that should not affirm the use of the franchise to be the *duty* of any one, but should say, merely, that *if* any one *thought* it his duty to vote

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trict generally, and the Massachusetts Board in particular. It was by the direction of the Board, *as their records will show*, that Messrs. Phelps and Stanton gave their attention to that field at that period. It was by their direction too, that, preparatory to one of the trials, Messrs. St. Clair, Wise, Phillips and Russell, were all sent, in connection with Messrs. Phelps and Stanton, to lecture in the several towns there. It was under their eye, and especially that of Mr. Garrison, and only partially at their expense, that the Liberators Extra and other documents were printed and sent into the field at each of the successive trials there. Previous to all, or nearly all of those trials, a convention was held of the abolitionists of the District. Those conventions—and there were at least three of them—were well attended, representatives being present from a large majority of the towns. Each convention decided for itself, and as the representative of the abolitionists of the District generally, the course to be pursued at the election then at hand. At none of these conventions was Rev. J. T. Woodbury or any other individual put in nomination as the abolition candidate. The *scattering system was universally adopted*. To facilitate its operation, the names of some five of the most prominent abolitionists in the District, of both political parties, were printed on a slip of paper and circulated, that each might make his own selection, and vote for which of the five he might prefer, or for neither if he pleased. This was all; and *this* was done at the convention named above—Messrs. Garrison, Jackson and Phillips, as Representatives of the Board and members of the convention participating in the deed!

The above is a fair specimen of the general inaccuracy of the Address, and also of Mrs. Chapman's books, in respect to their representations of the facts connected with the late division in our ranks.

for the slave, and then did not, he would act inconsistently! Accordingly, when Mr. St. Clair brought forward his resolution, saying, "it is the imperious duty of every abolitionist who *can conscientiously* exercise the elective franchise, to go promptly to the polls and deposite his vote," &c., it was seen that although it had a saving clause in favor of those who could not conscientiously do it, which the resolution at Concord had not, yet it contained the obnoxious principle—it affirmed it to be the duty of somebody to do it.

At once the hue and cry was raised, that the presentation and passage of such a resolution was all a piece of persecution—a deep laid plot to drive non-resistants in general, and Mr. Garrison in particular, from the anti-slavery society. And this hue and cry was led off by the very men, *who, one month before, at Concord, had advocated or silently acquiesced in the passage of a resolution which affirmed the same doctrine, and had no saving clause whatever for conscientious scruples.* It was to no purpose that they were assured there was no such design; that there was a saving clause for the sake of the very men whom they alleged it was designed to drive off. There was a plot and they knew it, and there was an end of argument and of reason in the case. Moreover they said that the resolution did affirm it to be the duty of somebody to vote, and they, as non-resistants, could not say that; and so long as the society said it, it conflicted with their views, which it had no right to do, but was bound to modify its action so as not to do it. And so Mr. Garrison brought in his substitute, and the modification was effected; the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was made to abandon its own original doctrines on the subject of political action, and become subservient to the promotion of the dogmas of non-governmentism!

THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITIONIST.

In exact keeping with the same policy and the same design, was the conduct of the same individuals and their associates in respect to the establishment of the Massachusetts Abolitionist. The repeated political conflicts in the 4th District, concurred with various other causes to beget the feeling in many minds of the want of a new and cheaper paper, that should specially urge the duty of political action, be adapted to general circulation, and be the organ of the state society. The Board of Managers of the society had been fully apprised of the existence of this feeling. As early as the

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middle of November, Dr. Farnsworth of Groton, called at the anti-slavery office to see Mr. Phelps about what should be done in reference to the then next election, in the 4th District. In the course of the conversation, he of his own accord, said we needed a new anti-slavery paper; to which, without hesitation, Mr. Phelps responded. Dr. F. had suggested the same thing before, at his house, to Mr. St. Clair. He was indeed among the first to suggest and favor the measure, though afterwards opposing it. On the occasion just referred to, he told Mr. Phelps he would go and see Messrs. Garrison and Johnson, and talk with them about it. He did so. About a month after this, on the 14th of December, the subject came up informally, in board meeting, and then Mr. Phelps stated fully and frankly what the feeling was and what the kind of paper that was needed, so far as he knew. Toward the close of that month, Mr. Phelps being absent from the city, the Board took up the subject in form, of establishing such a paper. A committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Quincy, Garrison, and Phelps, to consider and report upon it. On the 31st of December, Mr. Phelps being still absent, Mr. Quincy in behalf of himself and Mr. Garrison, made the following report.

The committee to which was referred the subject of a new anti-slavery paper to be the organ of the Mass. State Society, and to be conducted under its direction, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT.

Your committee are given to understand that the want of an anti-slavery newspaper, of a cheaper description than the Liberator, Emancipator, Friend of Man, &c., for gratuitous distribution by societies and individuals, has been *widely felt and loudly expressed throughout the State.* If such a want exist, your committee can entertain no doubt that it would be for the advantage of the cause that it should be supplied. If properly conducted, such a periodical would contain in a cheap and condensed form, a great amount of anti-slavery reading which might be widely disseminated by the local societies at a small expense. Such a periodical, it is believed, would not interfere injuriously with the circulation of any of the larger sheets which are issued in various portions of our country for the promotion of the anti-slavery enterprise. A publication not unlike the one proposed, has been lately issued by the N. Y. A. S. Society entitled the Anti-Slavery Lecturer.

As the periodical which is believed to be demanded by the friends of the cause, must be in a great degree local in its character, and devoted to the peculiar wants of this State, there *seems to be a peculiar propriety in its being sent forth under the auspices of the State society.* This Board moreover, will find it a convenient organ for the publication and recording of its proceedings and official acts. Its being made the organ of this Board, too, would give it an importance in the eyes of the abolitionists throughout the State, which it would want if issued by any

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individuals, of however high standing in the anti-slavery ranks. The principal objection which your committee apprehend will be urged against this proposition, will arise from the expense which will attend it.

The committee show that nothing is to be apprehended on this ground, and then add :—

Your committee are of opinion that the arguments in favor of such a publication are of more weight than those which occur to them against it. They therefore recommend that the experiment be tried; and would respectfully submit the following details of the plan in the form of resolutions, which they deem the most feasible, leaving it with the Board to adopt or reject it in whole or in part.

Resolved, That it is advisable that a periodical be published monthly, under the direction of this board.

Resolved, That the name of this periodical be "The Abolitionist."

Resolved, That the Abolitionist be edited by a committee of three members of this board, to be chosen by ballot.

Resolved, That the Abolitionist be furnished to individual subscribers at fifty cents a copy, per annum, only on condition of payment in advance, and to societies or individuals for gratuitous distribution, at twenty-five cents a copy, per annum, provided the number so taken be not less than ten. All which is respectfully submitted,

EDMUND QUINCY, *for the Committee.*

Boston, *Dec.* 31, 1838.

This report was accepted, and Messrs. Quincy, Phillips, and Garrison were appointed a committee to edit the paper, with directions to issue an edition of 3000 copies of a specimen number, to be laid before the approaching annual meeting of the society for its approval or otherwise.

The report is the board's official confession (1) that they had been fully apprised of the state of feeling in respect to a new paper, and (2) that, in their view, if established, there would be "a peculiar propriety" in its being their "organ," rather than that of "any individuals of however high standing in the anti-slavery ranks." Let this be noted.

The paper they proposed to issue, however, did not meet the views of those who desired a new one. Mr. Torrey, having been informed of their action in the case, immediately wrote them, urging the necessity of a weekly.* Mr. Phelps also assured members of the board, and among them Mr. Garrison, that it would not meet the wants of those who desired it if it were not weekly. It was seen that this project would not answer. At once the whole system of tactics was

* It is worthy of note that among all the plot-wise letters of Mr. Torrey that have been carefully gathered up and printed, the two letters written to the board at this time have never yet seen the light of day, nor has a hint been given to the public, by the "plot" manufacturers, of their existence.

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changed. Instead of seeking to soothe and win the "malcontents," and "disorganizers," so called, the policy was adopted of forcing their submission, or driving them, as "insidious plotters," "traitors," &c., &c., in disgrace from the ranks. The maxims of policy plainly were, "rule or ruin"—"submission or death." The committee to issue the specimen number did nothing, and on the 11th of January, in an editorial headed "Watchman, what of the night?" Mr. Garrison raised the cry of treasons and of plots. He said:—

"Strong foes are without, insidious plotters are within the camp. A conflict is at hand—if the signs of the times do not deceive us—which is to be more hotly contested, and which will require more firmness of nerve and greater singleness of purpose, (combined with sleepless vigilance and unswerving integrity,) than any through which we have past to victory. Once more, therefore, we would speak trumpet tongued—sound an alarm bell—light up a beacon fire—give out a new watchword—so that there may be a general rallying of our early, intrepid, storm proof, scarred and veteran coadjutors, at the coming anniversary—all panoplied as of yore, and prepared to give battle to internal contrivers of mischief, as readily as to external and avowed enemies.

* * * * * * * *

"With pain we avow it, there is a deep scheme laid by individuals, at present somewhat conspicuous as zealous and active abolitionists, to put the control of the antislavery movements in this commonwealth into other hands. This scheme, of course, is of clerical origin, and the prominent ringleaders fill the clerical office. One of the most restless was a participant in the infamous 'Clerical Appeal' conspiracy, though not one of the immortal FIVE. The design is, by previous management and drilling, to effect such a change in the present faithful and liberal minded Board of Managers of the State society at the annual meeting, as will throw the balance of power into the hands of a far different body of men, for the accomplishment of ulterior measures which are now in embryo. The next object is, to effect the establishment of a new weekly anti-slavery journal, to be the organ of the State society, for the purpose, if not avowedly, yet designedly to subvert the Liberator, and thus relieve the abolition cause in this State of the odium of countenancing such a paper. Then——make way for the clergy! For, by 'hanging Garrison,' and repudiating the Liberator, they will surely condescend to take the reins of anti-slavery management into their own hands.

"The plot, thus far, has been warily managed, so, if possible, to 'deceive the very elect.' Many, we know, are already ensnared, and some, at least, who neither intend nor suspect mischief. The guise in which it is presented is one of deep solicitude for the success of our cause. No attempt is to be made to lower down the standard—O, no!—but simply to change the men to whom has been so long entrusted the management of the enterprise, and put in their place younger men, better men, who will accomplish wonders, and perform their duties more faithfully—that's all! While privately, by conversation, letters, circulars, &c., &c., every effort is making to disparage the Liberator, (the paper is too tame for these rampant plotters!) and to calumniate its editor, no hostility to

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either is to be openly avowed. Far from it; for honesty in this case might not, peradventure, prove to be the best policy.

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The trusty friends of our good cause, and all who desire to baffle the machinations of a clerical combination, will need no other notice than this, to induce them to rally at the annual meeting, and watch with jealousy and meet with firmness every attempt, however plausibly made, to effect any material change in the management of the concerns of the State society. The spirit that would discard such men as Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, Samuel E. Sewall, Edmund Quincy, and Wendell Phillips, is treacherous to humanity."

What is said of discarding such men as Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, &c., was purely gratuitous. Such a thing had not been thought of. Mr. Jackson had said to Mr. Stanton that he thought of declining a re-election to the presidency of the society, and in consequence, Mr. Stanton remarked to some member of the Board that *if* he did, he thought Hon. Wm. Jackson, the brother of Francis, would make a good successor. Mr. St. Clair had also suggested to some one, that he thought the Board ought to be enlarged, so as to take in some friends of the cause at Cambridgeport and Lynn, and at the same time give the several religious denominations a fairer proportionate representation on the Board; and behold! a foul plot is discovered to revolutionize the Board and "subvert the Liberator!"

Such was the key-note given out for the annual meeting. The meeting was held, and lo! the very men that three weeks before had voted to establish a new paper to meet the wants of the State, now insisted that none was needed; they who then saw a "peculiar propriety" in its being the "organ" of the society, would not have it so now on any account; and they who wished such a paper were told to start it themselves and not tax the society with it, and were assured that if they did so, there would be no complaint or opposition. No sooner said than done. The paper was established, and lo! another change. Scarcely had another three weeks rolled away, before the same men issued a paper of their own, of the same size but cheaper than the Abolitionist, and with the avowed design, first, of meeting the want in question, and second, of destroying the Abolitionist! Such facts speak for themselves.

THE CHURCH, MINISTRY, AND SABBATH.

On the 25th of February, 1839, Oliver Johnson, having fully adopted the opinions and imbibed the spirit of Mr. Garrison, addressed a letter to the church in Middlebury, Vt. in which the following passages occur:—

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"It is, if I mistake not, about three years since I esteemed it both a duty and a privilege to become a member of your body. I then believed that you were in reality what you claimed, and still claim to be—a church of the Lord Jesus Christ,—and consequently, that I could not rightfully withdraw from you, except for the purpose of connecting myself with another similar association. It is my duty now to apprise you that my views of the nature of your organization, and, indeed, of all the ecclesiastical organizations with which I am acquainted, have undergone a *radical change*. I now regard them as *mere human societies*, which can rightfully exercise no powers whatever, except such as may have been rightfully conferred upon them by the individuals of which they are composed. That they have derived, in their associated capacity, any power from the Great Head of the church, I do not believe; and hence, it is clear to my mind, that I may as rightfully withdraw from your body as from any other human society. * * * I readily concede that moral beings have a right to form associations (on principles which do not restrict individual freedom,) for the purpose of mutual edification, and the propagation of what they believe to be gospel truth, but to call such associations *churches of Christ*, I believe to be an assumption wholly unwarranted by the scriptures. Christ has but *one* church in the world, and the members of the church are known, not by their connection with any society formed by men, but 'by their fruits,' consequently a withdrawal from such a society is not a withdrawal from the church of Christ. It is my full conviction, that Christianity has suffered, and is still suffering greatly from the common belief, that organizations which are the work of men, are churches of Christ; and I cannot consent, by remaining a member of your body, to give countenance to so pernicious an error."

Having thus given his view of "the *nature* of the church organizations of the present day," he proceeded, as one among "other important reasons," why he felt called upon, by a withdrawal from their body, "to bear a solemn testimony against them," to state that, in his belief, they are "a mighty hindrance to the progress of Christianity—a block before and a weight behind the wheel of gospel reform." * * "When the *corruptions* of these organizations," he adds, "first arrested my attention, I consoled myself with the hope that they might be purified and reformed; but subsequent reflection, and the events of the few past years, have utterly destroyed that hope, and forced upon my mind the conviction, that their *overthrow*, and not their reformation, is 'registered on the scroll of Destiny.'" And he then formally "withdraws" from the church.

These sentiments, it will be seen, assail the churches and their connected institutions, on two grounds, first their "*nature*," and second their "*corruptions*," upon both of which, it is maintained, they should be rejected. These, it is well known, were the sentiments and feelings of Mrs. Chapman, Messrs. Garrison, Benson, Quincy, and others of the initi-

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ated, at this period, and for some time previously. In the Reply to the Clerical Appeal, two years before, Mr. Garrison declared that the "great mass of the clergy" were "nothing better than hirelings, in the bad sense of that term," and that their "overthrow is registered on the scroll of Destiny." The same summer also, at Providence, he proclaimed, as we have seen, the speedy overthrow of the nation and the church. During the autumn following. Mrs. Chapman is known to have said to him repeatedly, "Your first business is to crush the clergy." Such, subsequently, have become the sentiments and feelings of Messrs. H. C. Wright, Collins, Whiting, Pillsbury, Foster, and others of the leaders and subordinates in the movement.

It is plain that persons entertaining these sentiments, could not seek the "reformation" of the churches, as their object. Such reformation would but perpetuate organizations, which, in their very nature, they regarded as "a mighty hindrance to the progress of Christianity," and especially of "gospel reform." They had declared "reformation," moreover, a hopeless event. Of course whatever they might do or say, in respect to the churches, their object must be "overthrow," not reform. *Honesty* would have sought this object *directly and openly:* and to this end, would have gone back at once to the "*nature*" of the organizations, and calling that in question, waged its first and main conflict there. *Dishonesty* would have sought it *indirectly and covertly:* and to this end, would have taken advantage of the anti-slavery cause, to raise a hue and cry about "the corruptions of these organizations," in order to break down public confidence in them on *this* ground, and *then*, in due time, to call in question their "*nature*," or right to be, as such.

The latter policy was adopted. In prosecuting it, the "sifting-in" process was vigorously plied. The ministry were special objects of attack. "Any thing to give the clergy a dab," said Oliver Johnson. "Wolves in sheep's clothing"—"Hirelings in the bad sense of the term"—"The deadliest enemies of holiness, as a body, in the land," said Mr. Garrison. Such were the epithets continually heaped in rich effusion on them. They were the grand obstacles to reform. "The anti-slavery car has rolled forward thus far, not only without the aid, but against the combined influence of the ministers and churches of the country," said Mr. Johnson. (Lib. Oct. 13, 1837.) If they come into the ranks it is because the cause is getting popular; or they are clutch-

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ing for power and mean to take the management of the cause into their hands, was the imputation constantly thrown out by Mr. Garrison. The churches also were represented as alike corrupt. In Sept. 1838 the New England Non-Resistance Convention came. With it came a renunciation of civil government, coupled with the declaration, "We purpose to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and *ecclesiastical* institutions." Mrs. Chapman commenced the application at once. In the paper (Oct. 5) following the one that contained the proceedings of the Convention, she threw out some "definitions, the result of observation and thought," which she hoped might "prove useful to any who are entangled in the weeds, that, springing up out of the slime of ambiguity, impede a free movement through the waters of truth." The definitions made the "church originally" and 'voluntary associations" now, substantially the same thing. The one was "a body of men drawn together by the affections and sympathies;" the other a body of men "drawn together by an agreement in principles of action, which they deem divine."

The work went on. Anti-slavery lecturers of the "*right*" sort were put into the field. Anti-slavery societies were summoned to the passage of resolutions, denying the Christian name and character to the churches generally. Step after step was taken, until, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, in May 1840, after the division had taken place, Mr. Garrison presented, and the society adopted, a preamble and resolution, affirming that "the American church has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American slavery," and therefore "ought not to be regarded and treated as the church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity, and pure religion, so long as it occupies its present position."*

* The position of the churches and ministers has by no means been what it should, on this subject. At the same time they have been, relatively, very far in advance of the State and the people at large. A careful statistical examination, made by Mr. Phelps, gives the following, among other results.

Taking the country together, there is, on an average, 1 minister to 500 people. In the early anti-slavery conventions and meetings, of those who signed the call for the Maine, New Hampshire, and first New England Convention, in 1833 and 1834, more than one third were ministers; of the delegates present in these and the National Convention at Philadelphia the same year, more than one-fifth were ministers; and of the delegates to these and the first four annual meetings

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Similar resolutions were passed at other meetings. About this time James Boyle, of Ohio, appeared in print again.

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of the American A. S. Society, the proportion was the same. So that in the A. S. reform, in its unpopular days, taking all together, the ministry, as a class, were to the people, not as 1 to 500, the ratio of population, but as 1 to 5.

Again, in the latter part of 1837, the Massachusetts A. S. Society requested all its auxiliaries to report their name, officers, and number of members. From the returns received it appeared that the anti-slavery societies then had a membership of 19,206 in the state, which was equivalent to 1 in 36 of the people. About the same time Mr. Phelps commenced a similar inquiry in respect to the ministry. He wrote to some minister in each association, or religious connection, known to him as a decided abolitionist, requesting the number of members in said body, and also the number known as members of anti-slavery societies, on the principle of immediate emancipation. Estimating the whole from the returns actually received, and it appeared that of the 792 ministers of all denominations then in the State, 367, or 103 more than one third, or nearly half the whole, were members of such societies. At that time, taking the population as a whole, there was in the State 1 minister to 518 of the people. Had the ministry, as a class, been equally advanced with the people, and no more, we should have had 1 minister to 518 of the people in the anti-slavery societies. Instead of this, however, there was 1 to 52—showing that instead of being *relatively* behind the people, on the subject, they were in fact 900 *per cent. in advance!*

Again, in the Liberator for 1831, p. 121, is the following:—

"In 1826 the Synod of Ohio held animated discussion on a question which had been referred to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, viz: 'Is the holding of slaves man-stealing?' In the *affirmative* of which a *large majority* concurred."

Here, on the showing of Mr. Garrison himself, "a large majority" of a large body of clergymen, took the most thorough anti-slavery ground, *more than three years before his Liberator had a being!* That Synod has since refused to ordain a man as a minister because he was a slaveholder.

A large majority of the anti-slavery agents have come from the ministry. Of the fifty-six agents employed by the American A. S. Society prior to 1837, forty-three, or nine more than two-thirds of the whole, were ministers. Indeed, the editor of the Liberator, Nov. 3, 1837, referring to this as a suspicious circumstance, in respect to the committee at New York, says:—"A very large proportion of the anti-slavery agents in the field are of the Orthodox faith, ay, and ministers, too, or those who are 'preparing' for the ministry—the exceptions, we believe, are rare." At the time of Mr. Phelps' investigation, in 1837, noticed above, it also appeared that while but one in eight of the Unitarian clergy in the State were members of anti-slavery societies on the principles of immediateism, there were more than one in three of the Orthodox who were members, and two in three of the Methodists and Baptists. Many other facts of a similar character might be given. These, however, must suffice. How different these from the random assertions and representations of Mrs. Chapman's "Right and Wrong," Miss Martineau's "Martyr Age," &c. &c.!

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His letters were published in the Liberator with high approval. In one of them he said, "Lawyers, doctors and priests, are the devil's trinity—and professions, as such, must perish." On the 2d of July following, in an editorial, in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, prepared for the purpose of expressing their views, the new Executive Committee of the old society said,—

> *Anti-slavery* is a word of mighty power. Oh, it strikes at the very corner-stones and key-stones of society. It aims a death-blow at long cherished habits and opinions. It robs life of all factitious honors; but above, and more than all, it would put an end for ever to the unrighteous dominion of "*the church*," it would unseat popular theology from its throne, break down the barriers of sect, and in short, resolve society into its natural elements, saving all the real progress it has made in the scale of improvement. *Here is the true issue on which the division in our ranks has been made up.* What do "woman's rights" and "non-resistance" weigh in a contest which threatens such a revolution? If it were possible to change the nature of the reform, so that it should have reference only to the abolition of negro physical slavery, and none whatever to *the general emancipation of mind*, depend upon it, women and non-resistants might have participated in our action, and not a thought of secession would have been tolerated.

Thus was the work of perversion consummated. The very *end and aim* of the anti-slavery cause were changed. "*The general emancipation of mind*," not the abolition of negro physical slavery, was now its object. It went for generic reform,—the "resolution of society into its natural elements." Anti-slavery societies had been and were to be used as a means to *this*, not to their original end. And it was just because certain of the early abolitionists would not consent to it, that the division arose. "*Here*," on the confession of the party implicated, "*was the true issue;*" but for this, "*not a thought of secession would have been tolerated.*"

This perversion effected, and matters stood thus. The anti-slavery organizations were used to unhinge public confidence in the ministry and churches, and to carry on the war against them on the ground of their alleged pro-slavery "corruptions;" the non-resistance associations were used by the same persons to do the same work, on the ground of their so-called, war-making "corruptions;" and abolitionists were urged, in repeated instances, to withdraw from and bear their testimony against these "synagogues of Satan." The *preparation work* was done. All that could be effected indirectly, through the anti-slavery organizations was effected, and the time had come for the final development,—the assault

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on the ministry and the churches as such. On, *therefore*, came the "Church, Ministry, and Sabbath Convention," so termed. The result of that meeting, its denial of the Sabbath and the ministry, and above all, its rejection of the Bible as of supreme authority in matters of religious faith and duty, are well known. Mr. Garrison feared, beforehand, that the calling of the meeting was "somewhat premature." Afterwards, he rejoiced in its result, because he "believed that the truth as it is in Jesus was signally promoted by it;" and Kneeland's infidel Investigator rejoiced in it as "a monument of the vincibility of prejudice, and the triumph of plain truth."

THE SPIRIT, SECTARIANISM, AND DISHONESTY OF THE LEADERS.

A few facts in illustration of these points must close this humiliating and painful development. They will also show, we think, that the very sectarianism and dishonesty so often charged upon the secession, really belong to the other party.

At an early stage of our contentions, a difficulty occurred between the Executive Committees of the National and State Societies, in respect to the payment of a pledge due the former from the latter. The committee of the State Society sent a sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. H. G. Chapman and others, to New York, to remonstrate with the committee of the National Society, to induce them to change their decision in the case. Soon after their return, Mr. H. G. Chapman met Mr. Stanton in the anti-slavery office, 25 Cornhill, and almost the first salutation was—"By G—d, your committee at New York are what I call d—n small coffee."

Nor was this a solitary instance of the kind. The use of profane language is not unfrequent with that individual, at least, on exciting occasions. Yet with this fact well known to his immediate friends, he has been put in nomination year after year, and elected to the office of treasurer of an institution that asks the co-operation and the charities of Christians, and has been heralded in the Martyr Age and elsewhere as "an excellent man," with a "spirit of self-denial" worthy of all praise!

Again, the Rev. Alanson St. Clair, at the commencement of the difficulties, was an agent of the State Society, and a

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Restorationist and Christ-ian in his religious sentiments. Subsequently he has changed his religious views, and is now a member in good standing of an Orthodox Congregational Church in New Hampshire. The strange developments made, in the course of our divisions, on the part of those with whose religious sentiments he, at the outset, sympathized, have done much in effecting this change. On the 8th of March, 1841, in reply to inquiries made by Mr. Phelps, Mr. St. Clair made the following statements in writing.

You are aware that my confidence in Mr. Garrison and Johnson, as men of truth and integrity, was formerly very strong and full. In the former it remained so till the course he adopted and pursued in relation to the Massachusetts Abolitionist. In Mr. J. it was partially alienated and impaired the summer previous. In one instance he made a remark which led me to question the motives with which he was attacking ministers, and in another to fear that he was willing to sacrifice the anti-slavery cause to his other peculiar views. The first remark was the more surprising, as I did not suspect, at the time, his views in relation to the Christian ministry and church, which have since been developed.

During the summer of 1838, while Mr. Garrison was at Brooklyn and Mr. Johnson was editing the Liberator, a statement about a clergyman was published in the paper, which, knowing the circumstances, I was aware was untrue. But supposing Mr. J. had made it by mistake, through misrepresentation, and would be willing to correct it, I stated the facts to him, and desired him to do so. Some time afterwards, as he did not, I reminded him of it again. He replied, "Never mind it; any thing to give the clergy a dab."

From the time the attempt was made in Boston to form an evangelical anti-slavery society, Mr. J. often manifested a cordial hatred of evangelical principles as well as men. At one time during the summer of 1838, on my combatting some loose opinion advanced by him, he replied that I was "getting to be too everlasting evangelical." At another he manifested his contempt by sneeringly calling the bathing tubs at the Marlboro' Chapel, "the evangelical watering troughs." Nor did he share this hatred alone; but many other *then* and *now* leaders of the old organization, partook of the same feeling, and this has been the most powerful motive in the course they have since pursued, and the secret of many of their movements. For the truth of this remark take the following instances as proof.

At the time the question of establishing the Massachusetts Abolitionist was pending, in the winter of 1838—39, great efforts were made by the leading friends of the Liberator to induce me to abandon the project. The evening before the annual meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society, while returning from Cambridgeport, in company with Rev. J. V. Himes, of whose church I was then a member, he inquired why I wanted another paper—why the Liberator was not sufficient? I replied, for two reasons. First, we wanted one so cheap that every abolitionist could and would take it; and second, we wanted one free from objectionable extraneous topics. The Liberator was two dollars and a half a year, and devoted just as truly to the "woman question" and the overthrow of human government, as to the abolition of slavery. He admitted the char-

ges, but said if we established another paper it would "bring the Orthodox into power." I asked whom he meant by Orthodox. He replied, "all the so called evangelicals." Then, I remarked, they constitute nine-tenths of the abolitionists in the State. He said he was not prepared to dispute it, but that he did not like their mode of doing business; that hitherto the anti-slavery cause had been kept out of their hands, and that he meant to keep it out if he could.

This was the first development of sectarianism of so palpable and barefaced a nature, which I had ever witnessed in connection with any anti-slavery movement. Mr. Himes was and still is a member of the Board of Managers of the old society in Massachusetts—a "no-government" and "woman's rights" man, and a cordial hater of evangelical Christians. I had frequently, during the summer and autumn previous, heard the Executive Committee at New York hinted at as persons of doubtful trustworthiness, on account of their evangelical character, whom it would not be amiss to remove. But here was the open avowal of an intention, by a leading member of the Boston Committee, to keep the control and influence of the anti-slavery movement in the hands of a small minority, because he disliked the religious views of the majority. I was alarmed at the disclosure, and, as you are aware, the same evening stated the fact to you and H. B. Stanton, which you threw out by insinuations the following evening, in the public meeting.

The next day was the annual meeting of the State society. On entering the Marlboro' Chapel, I was met by several friends, who informed me that George Benson, brother-in-law of Mr. Garrison, was inquiring for, and anxious to see me. I now met him—with much anxiety he desired me to accompany him to a lobby, where he immediately opened the subject of the newspaper, which was to come before the meeting for discussion and action. It was all, he assured me, an Orthodox plot and trick, to get the anti-slavery cause into their own hands, and throw Garrison overboard. I inquired for the evidence; he had none to give, but endeavored to produce conviction, by repeating the assertion. I asked if he supposed I would be guilty of any such plot. He replied, No. He and his friends thought me deceived; but still it was a plot, and if I would come out and abandon the proposition for a paper, they could show it to be such. I asked how. He replied by showing that there was nobody in favor of it but the Orthodox. I assured him, if there was any plot in the matter, I was guilty of it; for I had first laid the project before a few abolition friends; and then, at the request of Dea. Everett, had presented it in resolutions before a county meeting, which had adopted it with but one dissenting vote. He next endeavored to carry his point, by representing that the paper, if established, would bring the Orthodox into power, who would kick me overboard with him, for my trouble. Finding I was not moved by the fear of such a terrible result, he attempted to dissuade me from my purpose by flattery, assuring me how much confidence he and his friends had reposed in me to carry forward Mr. Garrison's views and interests in Massachusetts, and that they would be ready to overlook any trifling error and give their fullest confidence. Nor was he slow or backward in making promises of any thing in their power to bestow, in case I would abandon that "Orthodox plot," and return to Mr. G.'s interest. But as this did not produce its desired effect, he next addressed my fears; stating that the Orthodox abolitionists had no confidence in me, but would certainly kick me with him overboard the moment a paper should be established. I

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asked for evidence of these charges. He did not attempt to give any, except an account of H. B. Stanton's having at sundry times, made me the subject of ridicule, which he afterwards denied, on being brought face to face with Stanton on the subject. This interview impaired my confidence in Mr. Benson. I saw that, like Mr. Garrison and Himes, while he was charging sectarianism on the orthodox (whom he explained to be Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists and Methodists,) he was governed purely by this principle himself.

A few days after it had been agreed by the friends of the Mass. Abolitionist what sort of a paper it should be, and when started, I called on Mr. Garrison to let him know what we intended to do. He remarked that he deprecated the measure—it would open a door to let all those persons into the anti-slavery ranks, whom it had always been his object to keep out. Surprised at this remark, I asked him if he did not suppose the paper was to be anti-slavery. He said yes. I inquired if he supposed it was to compromise abolition principles. He said no: he had no fears but that it would be high toned. Then I asked how it could open a door of admission to the anti-slavery ranks to any but abolitionists; and who they were whom he wished to keep out. He gave no explanation, but repeated that it would open a door to all those whom he had always labored to keep out. From his exceeding hatred of ministers, a remark he is said once to have made, viz: that being a clergyman is prima facie evidence of a bad man, the remark he endorsed in his paper that clergymen "would rather have a religion and priesthood from hell than none at all," and from his uniform denunciations of that class, whether in or out of societies, I supposed he meant ministers. But as he refused to explain himself, I have no other evidence of his meaning.

A few days before the Albany convention, the same summer, on going into the same office one morning, my attention was directed to two pictures—caricatures,—fastened up on the left hand, among many others representing the atrocities of slavery. They were drawn in pencil, of a coarse, vulgar character, designed to ridicule brothers Orange Scott, John G. Whittier, and William Goodell. In one picture was drawn Br. Scott alone, in the dress of a soldier, with high boots, long huge spurs, epaulets on the shoulders, Napoleon hat, high nodding plume, a long sword hanging by the left side, a brace of pistols in his belt, a huge bowie knife in his left hand, and in the right, a lance or spear, one end resting on the ground, and from the other hanging a flowing streamer, labelled "the staff of accomplishment." From his mouth were proceeding the words: "I hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred; the Prince of Peace, is not the Prince of Orange." Under his feet in large capitals, were the words, "AN AMBASSADOR OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE IN FULL CANONICALS."

On the other picture were drawn Scott, Whittier, and Goodell. Scott occupied the right, Whittier the centre, and Goodell the left. The design of Scott's dress was that of a clergyman, with bands round the neck, like those worn by Episcopal clergymen, bare headed, posture exhibiting great fury, a pistol in the left hand, right arm raised and fist clenched as if to strike some one, and these words proceeding from his mouth:—"If you insult me, I'll slap your chops; for I hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred." Goodell stood on the left, facing Scott, Friend of Man in his left hand, right arm raised and hand pointed toward Scott, with the following words coming from his mouth: "Go ahead

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brother, show yourself true pluck, and I'll back you. *By the by, it is* high time I got out my new evangelical paper, in which I shall show that all kinds of forgiveness are criminal, except when a man buys and sells you as an ox; in that case only forgiveness becomes a duty."

In the centre stood Whittier in his Quaker dress, with the Pa. Freeman in his left hand, right arm raised, and he addressing Scott and Goodell in these words. "I'll join you, brethren, in a moment, if you will only show me how to get rid of this Quaker coat." Under the feet of the whole was drawn, in large capitals, "FIGHTING CHRISTIANS COMING TO THE SCRATCH."

I asked the clerk or man behind the counter, who put them up. He said it was the work of the non-resistants. I inquired who. He said Comstock drew them. I asked who had them put in that office. He said Collins and Johnson. I inquired if Mr. Garrison knew they were there. He replied, of course; he is in and out every day. I inquired if he *knew* that Mr. G. was aware of it. And he replied yes; he had frequently seen him laughing at them with others. I then took a paper, wrote down their appearance and what was written, and said to him if he did not take them down I would expose the whole. He replied that he disapproved of it, but it was more than his commission was worth to remove them. Yours for the truth, A. St. Clair.

MR. GARRISON AND THE BOSTON F. A. S. SOCIETY.

Again. The division we have sketched, extended itself to the Boston Female A. S. Society. The majority of the society sympathized with the new organization, or at all events were resolutely opposed to the high handed measures sought to be carried by Mrs. Chapman. The year 1839, with a part of 1840, was a period of unceasing internal contention,—the minority, with Mrs. Chapman and sisters at its head, seeking in every possible way to embarrass the society in its efforts for the general cause. Their proceedings at the meetings of the society were, at times, shameful and boisterous beyond description,—hissing, stamping, clapping, shouting, &c. &c., women though they were, in order to carry their points. The majority quietly, yet firmly, held its position. Miss Mary S. Parker, who had filled the office for several years with distinguished ability and devotion to the cause,* was continued as President, and Miss M. V. Ball as Dom. Cor. Secretary.

During the year 1839, Elizabeth Pease of Darlington, Eng., wrote Sarah M. Grimke on the subject of British India.

* Miss Parker is now just going to her grave, a *real* martyr to her efforts for the slave during this period. When the *true* "Martyr Age," comes to be written, her name will occupy a conspicuous position in it. It is not the wont of real martyrs to chronicle their own deeds while living, or to get their friends to do it for them, and then reprint it themselves for general circulation!

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Miss Grimke forwarded the letter to Miss Parker with a suggestion that it might be well to submit it to the society for some action in the case. The result was an "Address of the Boston Female A. S. Society to the women of Great Britain," with accompanying "Resolutions" in favor of the efforts of the British India Society. These were drafted by Miss Ball, were signed by herself as secretary, and Miss Parker as president of the society, and were published and extensively circulated in Great Britain. In the address, the following passage occurs:—

A fresh chord has been touched by your recent movement in relation to the affairs of British India. In that movement we behold the seeds of emancipation for the captives in our Southern States. Let but India's fertile soil give to England at the reduced price she anticipates, those commodities which are now almost wholly the product of the slave, and where is American slavery? * * Long and anxiously have we gazed upon the horizon, if perchance there might arise some star portending brighter and happier days for the captive; and lo! one has arisen in the East to bid us rejoice in the anticipation of the sundering of his chains. * * What a blessed work is before you! The lifting of millions of oppressed and wretched subjects from poverty, and the extinction of slavery upon our soil.

The annual meeting of the society for 1839, came on the second Wednesday of October. A large number of women assembled. A sister of Mrs. Chapman, giving an account of the meeting, (Lib., Nov. 1,) says:—

"After the usual devotional services, the Annual Report was read and accepted. There was in it no allusion relative to the present aspect of the anti-slavery cause; and the society which in former years established the right of slaves brought into the State to their freedom, recorded as one of their most important efforts, the transmission of a box of fancy articles to the Hon. Mr. Elmore.

This sneering account of the doings of the society for the year, was fully endorsed in an editorial in the same paper, by Mr. Garrison. He said:

"*We place* great reliance upon the accuracy of this report, not only as it *bears upon* its face the evidence of candor and impartiality, but because we believe its author to be incapable of any intentional departure from strict verity."

Then, after referring to the former history of the society, he added:—

"As a body, it has undergone a change in spirit—'the gold has become dim, and the most fine gold changed.' * * The society, as such, is unquestionably alienated from the old organization, and controlled by those who have got up the new conspiracy. Its vitality is with the minority, whose efforts to restore it to its former purity are worthy of all praise."

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Events passed on. The majority grew weary of the ceaseless and violent contention of the minority, and at last determined, though a majority, to end the strife by disbanding the old society and organizing anew. At a quarterly meeting early in 1840, a vote was passed to dissolve the society. The minority insisted that the society was not dissolved—that they, in fact, the majority having withdrawn, were the society, and proceeded accordingly. The Liberator, May 1, 1840, at once heralded the result, as follows:—

"It (the B. F. A. S. Society) is redeemed from the *foul spirit* of new organizationism and sectarianism, which has prevented its free action for some time past."

Now mark! Within two short months from this, viz: on the 6th of July, 1840, this same editor is making a speech in Freemason's Hall, London, at the first annual meeting of the British India Society; and what does he do?

"He wished, he said, to inform the meeting of the manner in which the *women of America* (!) regarded the question. He regretted that they had not been permitted to speak for themselves in the convention," (just as if it were from that class of women that the address from which he quoted had come!) "but he trusted he should give no offence if he read what they had written." (Cries of "O, no, none at all.") "He would read them an extract from a letter from the Boston Female A. S. Society, *whose zeal, intelligence and self-sacrifice could not be surpassed by any other society in the world*."

And he then unblushingly read the very extract from the "Address" of the society, which we have given above? An address issued by the society at the very period, when, as he had here said, its "gold had become dim!" An address prepared and signed by the very persons most infected with "the foul spirit," which, as he also said, had, at that period, "prevented its free action!" But not a word or hint did he or either of his friends, Phillips, Rogers and Remond give of all this, in Freemason's Hall, London!!

N. P. ROGERS AND POLITICAL ACTION.

Once more, In June, 1838, the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, at its annual meeting, on the report of a committee of which Mr. N. P. Rogers, then editor of the Herald of Freedom, was a member, passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That as slavery subverts the civil and political as well as religious liberties of the country, *we are* BOUND to put forth every constitutional influence for its overthrow, and to bring to bear upon it directly and strongly our whole force of moral, religious, and political action.

Resolved, That we hold it to be the *duty* of abolitionists *to vote at the*

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polls, and to attend town and county primary nominations of candidates to the Legislature, or to Congress, and to use all lawful power to procure the nomination of those who will vote for the freedom of the slave."

Nor were these resolutions a dead letter with the abolitionists of the Granite State. At the approach of the next gubernatorial and congressional elections, in the spring of 1839, the candidates of the respective parties were duly questioned. With one or two exceptions, their answers were unsatisfactory. Immediately a nomination of suitable candidates was made in the Herald of Freedom. This was followed by a resolution of the Concord Anti-Slavery Society, adopted on the 6th of February, "approving of the nomination recently made in the Herald of Freedom, of the following named gentlemen," (naming them,) "as candidates for members of Congress." The next week, at the annual meeting of the Merrimack County Abolition Society, a similar resolution was passed. A committee was also "appointed to prepare and distribute ballots for the approaching annual election," and "to confer with the managers of the State A. S. Society, in reference to a list of candidates for Governor and members of Congress. The result was (Her. of Freedom, Feb. 23) that "said committee and managers" agreed upon a ticket, and "recommended it to the support of their abolition brethren at the coming election." From that time to the election, the nomination was inserted as the "Independent Ticket," in the Herald of Freedom, and followed up with such editorial appeals, by Mr. Rogers, from week to week, as the following:—

"Brethren, be not deceived. Cast your votes for none but men who think Congress ought now to stop national slaveholding. * * Such a ticket is before you. Hoit and Southworth, Harper and Woodbury and Eastman. Vote for them, brethren, in obedience to your own enlightened consciences. Do it firmly. If it is done faithfully, we stop a State election for the love of the negro. An act that will cover anti-slavery with moral glory, and will precipitate the doom of slavery at a rate that would annihilate the most sanguine of us. And if we should not defeat an election for want of numbers—if we make it manifest that we all go for the slave, irrespective of party, it is a scarcely less triumph. It is at least the *basis* of a future and inevitable triumph.—*Her. of Freedom, Feb.* 28, 1839.

Again—"Stanton says, 'Scatter your votes.' He was talking to Massachusetts men, who had no ticket. We have one. We say '*scatter' to that*, and God save the slave."—*Editorial remarks accompanying the republication of a letter of H. B. Stanton, Her. of Freedom, March* 8, 1839.

Again—"We enjoin it on our friends to embody themselves—all of both parties. Get together and pledge themselves to vote together and

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stand by one another. This is our last appeal to our brethren *before* the trial day. We make it earnestly and solemnly. We make it impartially. * * We present you the slaves' friend ticket. We *send you* a vote which declares its noble intent on its forehead—'I GO TO MAKE FREEMEN OF SLAVES,'" (this motto was on the vote.)—*Her. of Freedom, editorial, March* 8, 1839.

And after the returns were made, in reference to the result, Mr. Rogers (Her. of Freedom, March 30, 1839) said:

"The little anti-slavery cloud, which now, at the polls, looks no bigger than a man's hand, shall ere long blacken these political heavens, and pour upon the land a thunder shower of the blessings of equal liberty. And the earth here, now all arid and slavery-scorched, shall look greener at the clearing off of that shower, than the valleys of Israel did, at the rains that made Ahab hurry down the the sides of Carmel."

Nor were the correspondents of the Herald a whit behind its editor. So early as the fifteenth of the previous December, a letter appeared in the Herald from MOSES A. CARTLAND which concludes thus:

"Since so little is to be expected of either political party; since they manifest no interest in the triumph of our cause, let us then respect ourselves. *Give us our own platform of independent action. Give us candidates of our own selecting*, men for whom we *will vote*, and for no others. Let the result be as it may we will do our duty. * * * Every successive development of our strength will inspire us with renewed vigor and confidence. Let our forces be *gathered out*, and let the little Spartan band, firm and undaunted, go up to battle with the Persian hosts at the Thermopylæ of Freedom,"—that is, at the ballot box!

Such was the abolitionism of New Hampshire in the winter of 1838 and spring of 1839. Such was its doctrine, such were its appeals, and such its modes of action. Nor were they inoperative or vain. They gave, as the returns showed, a vote of 1800 for the slave, while the scattering system of the ensuing "non-resistance" year, gave a vote of less than 500.

Mark now the change; the same Rogers that so manfully led the way in the field of political action in the spring of 1839, within two short years, (April 1, 1841,) penned an article in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, designed to point out the difference between new and old organization, in which he says:

"Old organization deals in moral influences only. It is fast learning that politics is but another name for violence. It was deluded for a time with the idea that it was a sort of moral suasion. It is discovering its error. It will, by and by, we think, repudiate politics altogether as an anti-slavery agency, along with the more direct instrumentality of gunpowder and shot and the grinded steel. They are sister agencies."

Here we have full length non-governmentism. The whole

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article is in the same strain. It appeared in the official organ of the old national society. The old Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at a quarterly meeting held soon after, refused, though their attention was called to it, to pass any resotion condemnatory of such a perversion of the official organ of the society. Yet these men, that have made such complete changes of their principles and action in this respect, are the men that claim to stand on the ground of pure original abolition; and denounce those who really stand there, as the creatures of sectarianism and party, and the " worst enemies " of the slave!

The committee forbear. They are humbled and mortified at the developments which have been made in the progress of this division, and which they have now felt constrained to lay before the public. They reveal sentiments and designs and traits of character, which, with two or three exceptions, the committee did not suspect, before the division commenced, to exist. They have been withheld from the public, generally, to the very last—till forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. They are now given in sheer justice to those most implicated, to the anti-slavery public, and to posterity. They are given as specimens—and they are but specimens—of others like them. They are given with sorrow of heart, yet in the hope that with this presentation of the case the controversy, on our part, will end.

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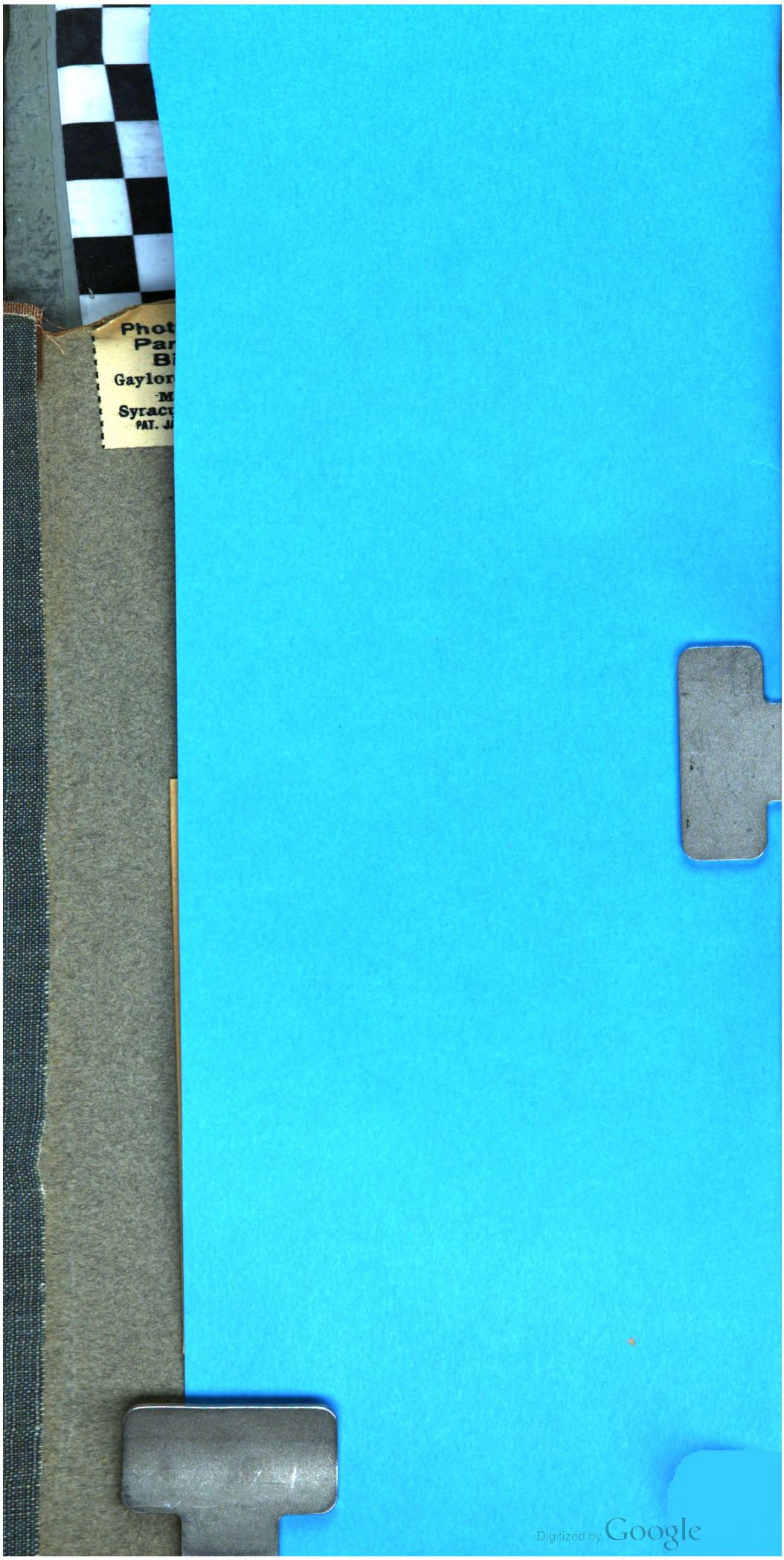

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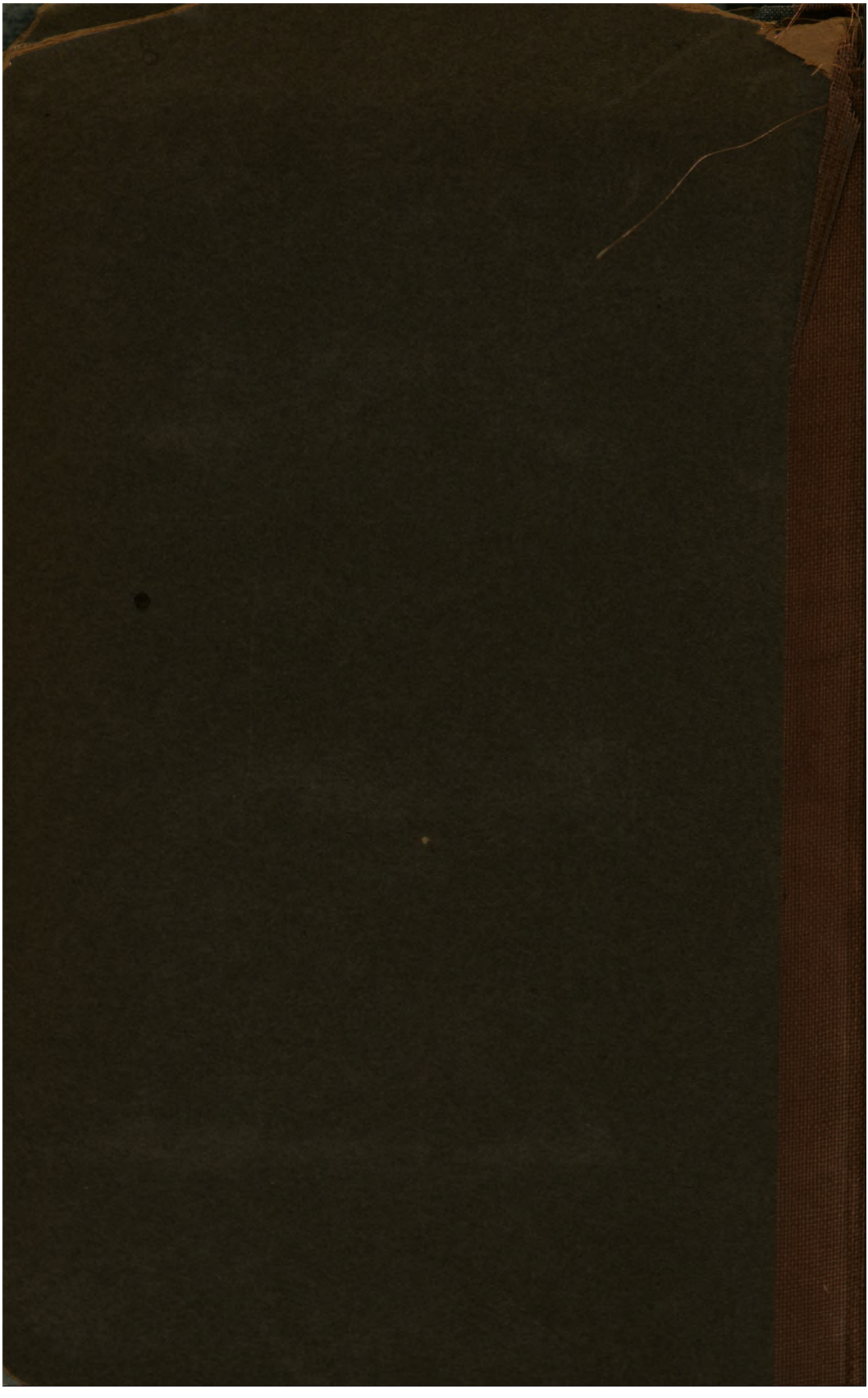

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